

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

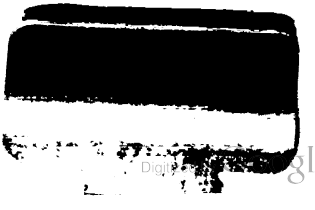
THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH ON ANGLO-SAXON CIVILIZATION

UC-NRLF
$B 297 479

Digitized by Google

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Class

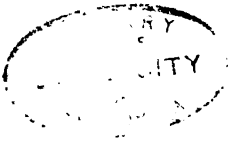


Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

The Influence of the English Church on Anglo-Saxon Civilization

BEING THE
LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE
CHURCHMAN'S LEAGUE OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
IN 1903



NEW YORK:
Edwin S. Gorham
PUBLISHER
FOURTH AVE. AND TWENTY-SECOND ST.
MCMIII

Digitized by Google

BX 5056
I 6

Digitized by Google

Contents

Lecture I

PAGE

THE BRITISH AND ENGLISH CHURCHES 3
The Rev. Prof. Thomas Richey, D.D.

Lecture II

THE CHURCH AS THE EDUCATOR OF THE PEOPLE . 23
The Rev. W. A. Guerry, B.D.

Lecture III

THE CHURCH AS THE CHAMPION OF THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS 57
The Rev. William M. Clark.

Lecture IV

THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONAL CHURCHES . . . 79
The Rev. Prof. William C. Clark, M.A., D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C.

Lecture V

THE CHURCH AND THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY . . 99
Mr. Joseph Packard.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Preface

THE question of the mutual relations between Christianity and Civilization, of which the history of the English people affords many instructive illustrations, is one of peculiar interest and importance, and has often claimed the attention of thoughtful minds. While progress in Civilization may be recognized as being a part of the Divine order of things, yet there is much in the principles of Civilization which is antagonistic to Christianity, so that the inevitable conflict, so constantly spoken of in the New Testament, between Christianity and the World, is continually existing. The purifying and refining force of Christianity, however, has been so felt by Civilization, that it is an undeniable fact of history that the most civilized nations are the most Christian, and that Civilization reaches its highest point in those nations which possess the highest ideals of Christian duty and strive to carry their principles into action.

We shall plainly see, if we read aright the lessons of the past, that true progress will be found in the end to consist, not in the mere attainment of material prosperity, but in the development of character, and that no nation has ever permanently flourished in which that principle has been lost sight of or disregarded.

The purpose of these lectures, delivered in Saint

Digitized by Google

Thomas's Church, Washington, has been to show the powerful part Christianity, as it has found expression in the English Church, has played in the development of Anglo-Saxon Civilization. There have been times, indeed, when the Church of England has not been wholly faithful to her mission, and has experienced the bitter consequences of her failure, but notwithstanding, she has never long forsaken her true ideals, and in training the people in the Christian faith, has produced a noble type of Christian character and high ethical national standards, which go to create the strength of the nation to-day.

It is worthy of observation that the closeness of the ties existing between Church and State, which in our own country does not impede the Church's freedom, gave, nevertheless, opportunities of vast personal influence upon the religion of the nation, at periods when leadership was sorely needed, to the temporal and ecclesiastical rulers, not always wisely exercised, but in the hands of great and good men, productive of incalculable benefit.

Beginning with the formation of the English nation, when Christianity, with its universal adaptability and wonderful unifying power, helped to weld the different racial elements into one homogeneous whole, the lectures trace the Church's influence upon the development of the English people in their educational, social, and political relations. As we approach more recent times, we are shown the influence of English Churchmen in our own land, before the Revolution as well as in the early days of the republic, reminding

Digitized by Google

us of the debt we owe to Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and that we too may regard with thankfulness our share in the inheritance of the great and historic Church of England.

It will thus be seen that the present volume embraces within its scope an extensive field, highly interesting and suggestive, full of matter profitable for meditation, and presenting for consideration some of those wider historical aspects of Christianity so often inadequately realized.

In their treatment of the wide range of subjects discussed, the views of the different lecturers will be found to have been clearly and ably stated, and the themes assigned handled with learning and literary skill by their respective authors.

Digitized by Google

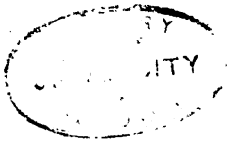
Digitized by Google

LECTURE I

The British and English Churches

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



LECTURE I

The British and English Churches

IT will be a help to a clearer discrimination of the nature and origin of the British, and English churches, if it be kept in mind, from the outset, that the one was Celtic and tribal in its organization; the other German and Teutonic. It was not a difference in name only, but of priority in point of time, and in matters of feeling and temperament. The land we are now accustomed to call England was first known as Britain; and its inhabitants were called Britons in Wales, Scots in Ireland, and Cymry in Cornwall. In the course of time a combination of these Celtic churches grew up—the British including the Church in Wales; the Irish and the Scotch forming a communion of their own. The Irish agreed with the Britons on the Easter question, and in the form of the Celtic tonsure, while the British Church was organized on the basis of a diocesan episcopate; in the Scottish Church, bishops, though respected in their office, were employed by the Abbot of the Monastery and a Council of Senior Monks only to perform episcopal functions, such as ordination and the dedication of churches: and as missionaries in the foundation of a new Christian province. Christianity was spread by means of branch houses and preaching stations. The Irish monks, as the result of clan organization, knew nothing whatever of local rights or terri-

Digitized by Google

torial limits. Their acts were done in behalf of the Monastic community, and on the responsibility of the Abbot. The Monastery, in other words, and not the Diocese, was the unit of organization.

When it is claimed, as it sometimes is, that "the Church of Wales is older than the Church of England, and has the proud distinction of standing in the vanguard of the Church of England and Wales, not only in preserving a complete ecclesiastical unity, but in being the mother, rather than the daughter of the Church of England," the claim, so far as the order of time is concerned, is literally true. Whatever may be the legendary character of the story of Joseph of Arimathea, and the Holy Grael, or of Prince Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, we have the indisputable testimony of a Council of the Church held at Arles in Gaul in the year A.D. 314, that three bishops from Britain were present at the council and took part in its deliberations, viz: Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of (probably) Caerleon-on-Usk, a priest and a deacon being also in attendance. Not only is it true, then, that the British Church at the time was recognized as part and parcel of the Church Catholic: but in the adherence given to the keeping of Easter in the first Canon passed, and the necessity affirmed in the twentieth Canon of the presence of not less than three, and, if possible, seven bishops to take part in laying on of hands, we have the discrimination made between the British Church, in its corporate character, and the Irish and Scottish missionary organiza-

Digitized by Google

tion, of a later date, when, through the settling of the Jutes and Saxons and Engles in the year A.D. 449, the British Church found itself no longer the Church of Britain, but the Church of the British limited to one corner of Britain: the Saxon having gradually obtained possession of the eastern, southern, and midland parts of the country to be hereafter known as England. It was then, the natural antipathy between conquering Saxons and Engles, and the conquered Britons began to make itself felt.

But if the British Church failed in its mission as an organized church, the Irish Church made the most of the opportunities placed within its reach to carry on the work under another form, when through the agency of Saint Columba in the year 563, it succeeded gradually in restoring Christianity to the lowlands of Scotland and the northern districts of Britain. When the British Church was cut off from communication with Rome in the fifth century by the hostile and impassable barrier of heathen English, Jutes, and Engles, the Church of Ireland shared its isolation: and while Catholic in doctrine, had assigned to it a singularly independent development, by cherishing learning and a high enthusiasm, in complete isolation from the rest of Christendom. It sent forth not only Saint Columba (565) to the conversion of the Picts in British Dalriada, and Saint Aidan to the English Northumbrians (635), but Saint Columbanus (595) to the Burgundian Jura, the Helvetian Zurich, and the Italian cloisters of Bobbio, Saint Gall (614) to the Alamans and the Lake of Constance—

Digitized by Google

the apostle at once of the Gospel and of settled life, of husbandry and tillage. While the Italian monks were attempting, after the Roman fashion, in a political and systematic way, to convert whole kingdoms *en bloc* by the previous conversion of their rulers, the Irish preachers went to work with true missionary earnestness to convert the half-Celtic people of Northumbria man by man in their own homes. Aidan, the Apostle of the North, was among the first to see the mistake of attempting to lord it over the people committed to his care, as Corman the bishop sent first from Iona had done: and transferred the seat of the mission to Lindisfarne, an island on the coast not protected by Roman walls like the royal Bamborough, but by the natural fortress of the sea and the shifting sands for a barrier. Saint Aidan looked for the conversion of the men of the north by mingling among the people. He went about his vast diocese, not on horseback, unless necessity compelled him, but on foot. Wherever he saw wayfarers approaching he went up to them at once, whether rich or poor. If they were unbelievers he urged them to receive the faith, if believers he urged them by word and deed—for he lived as he taught others to live—to alms and good works. Aidan had as an aid King Oswald, who had been trained in adversity at Iona, and brought up in the Scottish school. When Aidan, who knew little English, preached to the military leaders and attendants of the Court, Oswald acted as interpreter in his behalf in the preaching of the Gospel. The effect of the

Digitized by Google

change in the working of the mission was soon seen. Churches were built at the various centres of teaching by the help of the Irish missionaries, who, on hearing of the success of Aidan's work, flocked to Northumbria, and covered the land with Christian teaching; where, through the aid of the king's good offices, property and lands were given for the establishment of monasteries. Other Celtic missionaries penetrated further south. Diuma preached to the Middle English of Leicester, and Peada, their Ealderman, son of Penda, embraced the new faith. Ceadda, or Chad, the patron saint of Lichfield, carried the Gospel to the Mercians. Thus the heterodox Church, as it was by some regarded at the time, made rapid strides throughout the whole north.

It has become so much the fashion, in the reaction from the extravagant claims of earlier writers, to lay stress upon the Gregory the Great and the Italian Mission that we have to thank Bishop Lightfoot for calling attention again to the just claims to recognition by the Scoto-Celtic Church as an offset to the demands of Wilfrid and the Roman school before Theodore had entered on his work. "In spite of the bitter and endless enmity which continued to exist between the remnant of the ancient British people, who had found a refuge among the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Cumberland," it has been well said by Dean Spence, "and the Northmen conquerors of the island; in spite of the bloody and ceaseless feuds which separated the kindred tribes of the conquerors, Christianity kept on making a steady, rapid progress in

Digitized by Google

wellnigh all the districts of the island. But most of the evangelizing work, we must ever remember, was done by the Celtic rather than by the Roman mission agencies. The stream of the Divine word, which bathed in succession all the Pagan settlements of the Northmen, flowed rather from the northern than from the southern portion of the island—from Iona, the Monastery of Columba, on the Scottish coast, and from Lindisfarne, on the Northumbrian coast, the Monastery of Aidan, rather than from Canterbury and the Kentish settlements of Augustine and his successors."

That the Scoto-Celtic Church, apart altogether from its relation to the British, was defective in the matter of organization is undoubtedly true. The defect arose from the fact that the *potestas ordinis* necessary to valid consecration was not conferred by election, but, in accordance with the clan system of the Irish race, by a kind of right of inheritance from the founder of the family. The communities thus formed were not, in the proper meaning of the word, a hierarchically constituted church, but only alliances of a family kind loosely touching one another, without altering their relation to the brotherhood or clan. The difficulty was not a scholastic or theoretical one, but inherent in a system which tended to degrade the spiritual element inherent in the episcopate by placing the bishop in subjection to the abbot, whether in orders or simply a lay brother, if related by family inheritance to the clan. And yet the working of the system for missionary purposes had its value, because of the

Digitized by Google

check it placed on the temptation to worldliness and episcopal intolerance, on the part of the third order of the ministry. Bishops, through the limitations placed on their functions, were kept in their proper place and used for ministerial purposes until the time came for the adjustment of the relations of the *potestas ordinis* through the intervention of the idea of a hierarchy of order. This took place in the time of Constantine the Great, when the Germans, for political purposes, were incorporated into the army. A new element in the fourth century—the German nationality—was at work gradually infusing itself into the Roman world, especially in the west. The Teutonic spirit of individual freedom, as opposed to the Roman spirit of tyrannical universal law, in which the individual and his interests were regarded as of no account, found in Christianity an element of assimilation which made a marked difference in the treatment of the barbarians as local factors in their relation to the state. While the impulsive, emotional Celtic race was made use of as mercenaries Constantine adopted the policy of treating the Germans with great consideration. Not being attached to Roman ideas by hereditary tradition, but having within them the Teutonic attachment to personal freedom of life and action which the Romans regarded as the peculiar German characteristic, the leaders of the Goths valued the Empire sufficiently to desire to partake of its superior civilization. The result was the infusing of new life into the effete Empire, ready to perish from the growth of infanticide. Christianity, in the value

Digitized by Google

it attached to the sacredness of human life, found in the Germanic races the soil prepared for it to implant the seed from which is to spring the hope of immortality.

Races have their mission, as well as men. The impulsive Celt has his place in history as well as the stolid Saxon. Each has his own position and work divinely assigned him. The one is the counterpart and complement of the other. For more than a hundred years Catholic Christendom had been divided into three great sections: the Church of the East, with Constantinople as its centre; the Church of the West, with its centre at Rome, and the Church of the North-west, with its centre in Ireland. "While Rome," as Mr. Wakeman observes, "was engaged in the intellectual struggles of theological controversy, Ireland was sending missionaries to convert the heathen at the very gates of Italy. In Wales the Celtic Church was throwing off the weakness and recovering from the degradation caused by the long struggles with its English conquerors. Organized, like the Church in the East and West, under territorial bishops, it too had developed under Saint David, Saint Dubricius, and Saint Teilo, a real and true life of its own, wholly uninfluenced by Rome." But the time had come that something more was needed, if the English Church, now that the German element had been incorporated with the British, is to make its power felt as the Kingdom of God in the world. History repeats itself. Monasticism is not an accident of Christianity; it is part and parcel of the preparatory

Digitized by Google

work of the reformation which John the Baptist was sent to represent in preparing the way for the setting up of the Kingdom. John knew himself the relation which he bore to Him whose way he was sent to herald, better than his disciples did. His motto was graven on the seal which bore witness to his being a true prophet:—"He must increase, but I must decrease." For the building up and establishing of the Kingdom new agents are needed, new moral forces are to be called into existence. It was only to a superficial onlooker that the stern prophet of the wilderness seemed to stand in the way of Christ and the appearing of the kingdom. The object of the law was to rouse the sense of duty, while the function of the prophet was to deepen the consciousness of guilt. This done, the time had come for the proclamation of the setting up of the kingdom by preaching the remission of sins, and the opening of the door of admission to the nations to enter in. Nor could this take effect except by violence, and the operation of the law of catastrophe, as the old order perished and the new development had begun to run its course. It is true that there was a rigor amounting to severity in the Scoto-Celtic monk, but this was combined with the burning enthusiasm and impassioned love of self-sacrifice for the souls of men which made their presentment of Christianity a moral power over the untutored heathenism of the men who yielded to its influence. Their awful severity alternated with a deep and broad tenderness which took by storm the hearts of Engle and Saxon, now that persuasion had given place to force in the extension of the faith.

Digitized by Google

The Church of England, in the providence of God, owes its existence to a Greek monk. His antecedents as a member of the Eastern Church enabled him to harmonize the conflicting claims of the two schools into which the English Church at the time of his advent was divided, and to address himself with broad views of ecclesiastical polity to the task of organizing the Heptarchic churches into a harmonious province of the Catholic Church. So far as culture was concerned, Theodore was not in opposition to the Irish; they attended his schools, Aldhelm tells us, in large numbers: but he took the ground and maintained it, that since he was himself in Roman orders, in matters of discipline whatever was lacking or questionable in the orders of Scottish or British bishops, must be remedied by the imposition of hands on the part of a Catholic bishop. The primacy of Theodore, following close as it did on the conference held at Whitby, under Oswy, the successor of Oswald, and trained in the same Celtic school, marks an epoch of transition in the history of the British and English churches. When he came into power as Archbishop, it seemed as if there might be as many distinct and independent churches as there were kingdoms in the Heptarchy itself; but if others founded churches, Theodore organized them into one national church. His great work consisted in the establishment of a national synod under the presidency of the King of Kent, in the year A.D. 673, at Hertford, under himself as Archbishop of Canterbury. This was the first step ever taken toward unification of England.

Digitized by Google

Before the time of Theodore, the archbishops of Canterbury and all the bishops of the southern kingdom had been Roman missionaries sent forth by Gregory the Great; those of the north had been Scots or in Scottish orders. After Theodore they were all Englishmen in Roman orders. It was the ecclesiastical unity thus established which paved the way for the political unity which was to follow it. Theodore, says Bede, was the first archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed. "Before his time," says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the bishops had been Romans, but from this time they were English."

It was left for Boniface, "the Apostle of Germany," to complete the work Theodore of Canterbury had begun. Owing to the zeal and energy of the English missionaries at a time when the Church in the eighth century was losing ground on the Continent of Europe, the schools of Britain and Ireland, as the result of the efforts of Theodore and Adrian to cultivate the advance of the Greek and Latin tongues, were among the best in Christendom: and of all the schools that of Archbishop Egbert ranked among the first. The English missionaries were not slow to emulate the zeal of their Celtic forerunners, in their efforts to carry the light of the Gospel to the still pagan nations on the Continent. Boniface, in the year 718, visited Rome, carrying with him the commendatory letter of the Bishop of Winchester, and obtained the sanction of Gregory II. to his mission among the Hessians and other heathen tribes of Germany. When consecrated to his work on a second

Digitized by Google

visit to Rome, as missionary bishop in 722, Boniface took the oath of obedience to the Roman See. Boniface has been found fault with for this. But the legitimate claims of the Roman See had to be maintained for the time being in view of the anarchy which prevailed. When the question of the submission of the English Church to Rome was brought forward, at the Synod of Cloveshoo, in A.D. 747, it was determined that "if there is anything which a bishop could not reform in his own diocese, he was to bring it before the Archbishop in Synod." Boniface himself withstood the interference of Stephen II. when he felt called upon to do so.

I have hitherto purposely refrained, in dealing with the subject of the relations of the British and English Churches, upon entering any further than necessary, from an historical point of view, on the controversial questions involved. An impartial judgment of the arguments advanced by the contesting parties will result in the conclusion that the combatants were, for the most part, too much influenced by passion and prejudice to deal fairly one with another. The Easter question, which comes to the front at the conference called at Whitby to settle upon terms of agreement was, in truth, an old issue in a new form. While Victor of Rome had neither the right nor the power, without consulting the Churches of Asia Minor, to fix the date for the keeping of Easter, now that the transition had taken place between Judaism and Christianity, the observance had become a matter of catholic unity, and could no longer be reckoned

Digitized by Google

among things indifferent—to be left to individual choice or caprice. The question of tonsure, so hotly contested between the Romanizing followers of Wilfrid on the one side, and the British and Scottish schools on the other, was in reality not an ecclesiastical dispute which, on the ground of apostolic tradition, either on the authority of Saint Peter or Saint John, could be settled, but one which had to do with the entrance of the neophyte on the religious life before taking holy orders. The tonsure in itself, like the cutting of hair of the Nazarite, was neither Greek nor Roman in its origin, but a mark of separation from the world, whether under the Hebrew dispensation, or the Druidical priest, consecrated to religion. The *form* of the tonsure it was for the monk, whether Greek or Roman, Jewish or Pagan, to determine, and had no place in Christian symbolism, properly so-called. Viewed in the light of a ceremonial adjunct, tonsure, as a symbol of separation, was common to all forms of religion, whether Greek, Roman, or Druidical, alike.

To Gregory the Great the English Church owes the initiative in laying the foundation of its hierarchical superstructure. When Theodore, at the call of Vitalian, first came to Britain the Church was little more than a collection of independent mission stations; the Primate of Canterbury little more than a diocesan bishop, unknown beyond the bounds of Kent, and in danger of being overshadowed by the great bishopric of Northumbria. Bishops and clergy lived together in common in the *monasterium*. There were

Digitized by Google

no parish churches and no resident clergy. Theodore's work for the first three years of his episcopate was to make a general visitation, with the help of Adrian, asserting his own position as archbishop, and organizing the various dioceses around the See of Canterbury. The next step was to call a provincial synod at Hertford, at which the leading bishops of Britain, with the exception of Wilfrid who was represented by proxies, were in attendance, to help aid Theodore in this first visitation, which ended in 671. The visitation made by Theodore was *thorough* (in the latest Loudion meaning of the word): it was like all Theodore's work, conservative and not destructive, conciliatory and not subversive of what had already been done by the authorities in Church and State before his coming into the country. When he found that two British bishops had taken part with the vice-bishop of Winchester in consecrating Chad to Lindisfarne, Theodore did not allow himself to be influenced by the sentiment of the first time when the union of the two divergent lines had met together in a joint act, but took occasion to supplement whatever was lacking in Chad's acceptance, since he had in his "Penitential" made a rule that "all ordained by bishops of the Scots or Britons who held to the Celtic usages had no orders in the Catholic Church until their orders had been confirmed by the imposition of the hands of a Catholic bishop." When Chad yielded the point in question, and in a spirit of meekness complied with Theodore's pledge given to the Roman See, he secured for him, at the request of Wulfere,

Digitized by Google

the King of Mercia, the See of Lichfield, as a token of reconciliation and a reward for his spirit of self-surrender.

When we contrast Theodore with Augustine, we can discern the hand of God in the changes which had been gradually at work in the transformation by which the Church of Britain had become the Church of England; and after a transition period of a hundred and fifty years, through the intervention of Gregory the Great and Theodore of Tarsus, the Church of England was prepared to transmit to future generations whatsoever was truly catholic in the Greek and Roman Churches, without becoming Byzantine on the one hand, or Roman Catholic on the other. It was by no accident that Gregory the Great was fitted to be a statesman different in liberality of tone and temper from Augustine and Paulinus. Neither was it by chance that a Greek monk, after Adrian had refused the offer of the archbishopric, should be selected by Gregory's successor at Rome, Vitalian, to qualify himself to unite with Adrian in the work of organizing the English Church; nor was it accidental that the British and Celtic Churches, by their missionary efforts during the interregnum caused by the withdrawal of the Roman occupation of the island, and the invasion of the German tribes, had prepared the way for the Heptarchy to become a nation: and Greek culture and civilization combined with Roman law and imperial organization, under the form of provincial and diocesan arrangement with a graduated hierarchy of

Digitized by Google

orders, to correct the disintegrating tendency of Celtic impulse and German personality to schism and division, while councils are being held to formulate the doctrines of the faith, and codes of law were formed, by the Penitentials of Theodore of Tarsus and the Pandects of Theodorus and Justinian, to systematize the laws by which the new forces which had been set in motion by the introduction of the barbarians are to be converted and educated for the establishing of the Kingdom of Christ in the world. Bede tells us that the scholars of Theodore and Adrian were as well versed in Latin and Greek as in their own language. Under Theodore the Church of England became pre-eminently a learned church. Before his time students from Britain, as well as from the Continent, had been accustomed to flock to the Irish monastic schools. Theodore brought back the learning which had been banished from Britain by the English conquest. His no less gifted friend, Adrian, Bede tells us, was exceedingly skilled in Greek and in Latin. At the school which Augustine founded at Canterbury, a number of eminent men were educated by Adrian, and the sainted John of Beverly, who became Bishop of Hexham in 687 and of York in 705. There, too, Aldhelm, under whom as Abbot of Malmesbury the monastery became so famous that scholars from France and Scotland flocked to his teaching; and who, under Ini, King of Wessex, became the first bishop of Sherborne in A.D. 705. It was to Alcuin of York, it will be remembered, that Charlemagne, when he wished to revive the almost extinguished

Digitized by Google

literature of France, turned for help. In the year 787 he was, by the invitation of Charles, present at the Council of Frankfort, where the influence of the English Church, as contradistinguished from the Greek and Latin schools of theology, was for the first time felt by the insertion of the catholic verity of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, already acknowledged by the English Church by the Council of Hatfield in A.D. 680, and at the command of the Emperor ordered to be sung in the creed.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE II

The Church as the Educator of the People

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE II

The Church as the Educator of the People

THE general subject of which mine is a subdivision is "The Influence of the English Church on Anglo-Saxon Civilization," but as it is manifestly impossible to sever the English Church from the Church of the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic period, so it is equally out of the question to discuss the subject of Christian education and the establishment of schools and universities under the control of the Church, apart from the lessons of the Christian centuries which preceded the foundations of learning in the British Isles.

In all great movements of whatever kind, which have profoundly influenced our civilization, it is well to have an historical perspective, through which to view them, and a background against which to outline the figures, which stand in such bold relief upon the foreground of our canvas. The work of Christian education, which in this paper we will define to be education under the auspices of the Church, took its rise in that period of "acute hellenization," as Mr. Harnack aptly describes it, when the Church formed its first compact with Greek thought and philosophy, and the human intellect was started upon a career of speculation and inquiry from which there was no turning back until an answer had been found in the Catholic creeds. No discussion of "the Church as the

Digitized by Google

educator of the people" would be complete which failed to note the tremendous impulse which was given to the spirit of inquiry and research throughout the entire Conciliar period. Often, no doubt, we are conscious of a certain distrust of the metaphysical and exegetical arguments employed by the disputants on either side, but through all the subtleties of metaphysics, and strife of words as to the exact meaning of "substance" and "subsistence," of nature and personality, one fact shines out clear and unmistakable, the triumph of the catholic party was the triumph of human reason guided and illumined by the Spirit of God. The Church during that period of intellectual unrest and perplexity, definitely and once for all committed herself to the principle that learning and philosophy may serve as the handmaids of religion in the search for truth.

Any attempt, therefore, in our own time to disparage dogma and to teach that it is of no special consequence what men believe about Christ, so long as they live His life and are animated by His spirit, under whatever name it may cloak itself, is really an attempt to undervalue the part that reason and scholarship have played in the development of Christian doctrine. The union that was formed in the third and fourth centuries between philosophy and religion, between Hellenism and Hebraism, between Greek culture and the simple, unquestioning faith of a youthful church set free from the trammels of Judaism, was God-ordained.

In the union of reason and faith thus consecrated

Digitized by Google

to the great task of working out a rational theology and Christology, we have the Magna Charta of Christian education in all ages. The intellectual conflict precipitated by the attacks of the Gnostics and early heresies upon the faith of the Church was the price of her intellectual freedom. By the question propounded to His disciples at Cæsarea Philippi, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" our Lord Himself may be justly said to have been the first who started the inquiry concerning His nature and person, which He must have foreseen would engage the mind of His Church for centuries after His Ascension. Once challenge men, as He did, with the searching and pertinent question, "Whom do ye say that I am?" and you start the human intellect upon a voyage of discovery which, however perilous, can never be curtailed or surrendered as vain and futile. It is useless for theologians, like Harnack, to deplore this fusion of philosophy with religion in the ante-Nicene period and to speak of the loss of the "original enthusiasm" and "simplicity of the first converts" of the new religion, as though the hold which Christianity had upon men declined just in proportion as they began to use their brains, and to seek to discover the proper meaning of Godhead and Manhood, and of the conditions of their union in the One Person of Christ.

Such a development of Christian doctrine was inevitable. It was essential to the very existence of Christianity in the world that the Church should state in distinct and scientific form truths which had been held from the beginning, but which the minds of men

Digitized by Google

had not been exercised in precisely defining. In the Garden of Eden, from which our first parents were cast out for their disobedience, we read that the Tree of Life was planted close to the Tree of Knowledge, to indicate that there can be no complete Christian life without knowledge, and that apart from knowledge life is feeble and insecure. In working out a true Christology, the Church did not hesitate to make use of the learning and culture of the ancients. She called to her aid the dialectical skill of the trained disputants of the schools of Athens and Alexandria. She adopted the very language of the philosophical systems by which she was surrounded. She borrowed alike from philosophizing Jew and Greek Platonist. Her ablest defenders were men like Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria; men who had travelled through many different countries in search of wisdom, and had studied in the great schools of heathen philosophy, and who at last had found a complete answer to their eager questionings in the Faith of Jesus Christ.

These men accepted the Gospel, not because all that they had learned in the schools of the Platonists or of the Stoics had been false, but because they found in Christianity the fulfilment of the half truths of Paganism and the realization of ethical ideals which had been partially though imperfectly anticipated in the writings of heathen philosophers like Aristotle and Epictetus. While Tertullian and Irenæus, and even Saint Augustine, in his later years, condemned philosophy as the fruitful mother of heresies, Justin

Digitized by Google

Martyr and the Greek theologians of the school of Clement and Athanasius did not hesitate to teach that Christianity was the only true philosophy.

It is said that Justin Martyr, after his conversion, always wore his philosopher's cloak to signify the continuity of his spiritual history and that, in becoming a Christian, he had not ceased to be a philosopher. This attitude of mind was something new in the history of the Church, and is worthy of mention here because it represents the attitude which the true Christian teacher and scholar should assume toward all departments of human learning.

In the earnestness with which this great Christian apologist sought after the truth; in the breadth of his culture and freedom from prejudice; in the unity of his knowledge, as well as in the continuity of his religious history, we have the germ of all Christian education. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the first Christian school of the early Church, the first great intellectual centre of learning fostered by the Church and presided over by men of distinguished abilities, was the Catechetical School of Alexandria, which tradition says was founded by Saint Mark, and which by the middle of the second century had become a seminary for the training of the clergy, and for giving advanced courses of instruction to the more highly educated converts. In the succession of eminent scholars and theologians who presided over this school we may see the worthy successors of Justin Martyr and others like him, who had been led to Christianity, not through Judaism, but through a

Digitized by Google

long line of philosophers and "seekers after the truth," whose preparatory labors had aided them to a better understanding of the faith of the Gospel. To this orthodox Alexandrian school and to the teachings of Pantænus, Clement, Origen, and Athanasius, we have the first denial of the alleged opposition between faith and knowledge, which the Gnostics were so fond of maintaining, and which has proved in every age of the Church the greatest foe of progress and the most serious drawback to the cause of higher education. Freedom of thought and the open door of investigation into the foundations of religious belief may prove dangerous weapons in the hands of the irreverent and unbelieving. They were so in the school of Alexandria. But, if some of the most dangerous heresies which threatened the faith of the Church emanated from this Christian school, we should not forget that it also produced a catholic theology which completely met and overcame them.* No other writer has given us such a complete answer to Gnosticism as Clement of Alexandria, and when the accomplished heathen Celsus attacked the new religion with ridicule and argument, it was from Alexandria that the answer came. And later, when Arianism threatened to sweep away the bulwarks of the ancient faith and poison Christianity at its very source, it was from this same school of Alexandria that Athanasius came and contended for the true doctrine of the Incarnation. This great theologian and Christian scholar exposed the sophistry of the Arians, laid bare their fallacious ar-

* Allen—"Continuity of Christian Thought."

Digitized by Google

guments, showed men the true outcome of their philosophy, and, under God, saved the Church from serious error.

What a simple and unquestioning faith could not do, enlightened reason and accurate scholarship, guided and illumined by the Spirit of God alone, was enabled to accomplish. The Church found her ablest defender and greatest theologian in this reverent Christian scholar trained in a "Church college," deeply versed in the philosophy and learning of the ancients, borrowing the weapons of his dialectical skill and rhetorical acumen from the heathen schools of Athens and Alexandria. Could there be a better argument for the establishment of institutions of higher learning under the auspices of the Church than the career of Saint Athanasius affords? The production of one such Christian scholar and theologian would be worth all the labor and all the sacrifice that the Church now gives to maintain them.

The early Church had no more astute and dangerous foe than Julian the Apostate. He had learned from the experience of former times that it was useless to try to suppress Christianity by force. He therefore undertook to reduce its professors to the condition of an illiterate sect. He sought to defeat it and to put a stop to the spread of Christianity in the world by divorcing it from human culture. He issued an edict that no "Galilean," as the Christians were styled by law, should become a teacher of classical literature. He declared that the Greek language belonged to his own party, and that Christians had no

Digitized by Google

share in a literature to which their own writings were opposed. He went so far as to prohibit the children of Christian parents from attending the public schools or from studying any classical author.

Thus he sought to deprive the Church of the weapons of controversial warfare, which she knew only too well how to turn against the absurdities of pagan mythology. Julian had perception enough to see that the most powerful weapon which the Christian apologist could wield against a decaying paganism was the trained mind and the broad culture of the student familiar with all the learning of his day and yet imbued with the spirit of Christ and holding in its integrity the historic Faith. And whenever the Church has sought to place shackles upon the human mind, or has cut herself off from any avenue of approach to a wider knowledge of God and of His works, she is falling into the traps of her enemies and unconsciously adopting measures employed for her suppression by the apostate and unbeliever.

The antidote for doubt is not authority. It is not dogma divorced from inquiry and research. It is scholarship, free, unfettered, and reverent. To the unbelief which is so prevalent in our own time we can no longer oppose the authority of Scripture or the authority of Church councils. We must show men, as those great Christian scholars of Alexandria in the second and third century sought to show them, that Christianity is the only true philosophy; that there is not an article of our creed nor a doctrine of the Church which cannot be shown to have a rational basis.

Digitized by Google

Nothing could be more characteristic of the attitude of mind of Saint Athanasius and men of his school, than that, in contending for the Nicene formula in the East, he declined to rest its claims to acceptance solely upon the authority of the Council, but preferred to commend it to men's minds by a process of reasoning. Do not understand me to say that I disparage in the least the noble power of unquestioning faith. The Bible, the Church, God, may be and are the deepest realities to many simple and devout souls, who have but little or no understanding of the grounds of their religious belief. But Christ has commanded us to love God with all our mind, as well as with the soul and the affections, and that faith can never be the highest faith in which the head is divorced from the heart, nor that love the strongest and most unchangeable which does not bring with it a reverent mind to bear upon the deep things of God. We have dwelt at some length upon this early experiment of Christian education in the great city of Alexandria, because we believe that in the intellectual activity and freedom which distinguished that ancient foundation of learning, we have the earliest historical beginnings of Christian education and the true lines laid down along which the Church must advance in her work as "the Educator of the people."

When we pass, in the fourth and fifth centuries, from Greek to Latin theology, we find ourselves in a very different atmosphere. "In the Latin Church, theology was subordinated to the requirements of an ecclesiastical hierarchy." The Roman Church devoted

Digitized by Google

its chief energies to the important work of discipline and organization. To her we owe the love of order, obedience to authority, and the solidarity of the one body of Christ, which enabled the Church to resist successfully the inroads of the barbarians, and to erect upon the ruins of pagan Rome a spiritual empire which, in the scope of its influence and in the nations which acknowledged its sway, far surpassed the dreams of the Cæsars or the ambition of Alexander the Great. The tendency of Latin theology, as set forth in the writings of Saint Augustine, was to regard the reason as an untrustworthy and dangerous guide in matters of faith. Divine revelation was looked upon as a "deposit" to be handed down unimpaired and unchangeable. It was to be received solely upon the authority of the Church, and demanded of all men an implicit and unquestioning acceptance. There can be no doubt that, for the work of evangelizing the rude barbarian hordes that swept over Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries, nothing could have been devised better than the theology and discipline of the Latin Church. New races had come forward to take up the work of human progress and to preserve and hand on a Christian civilization, and for these half-civilized and untutored barbarians it was necessary that they should first be taught as children, solely upon the authority of the Church and the Scriptures. Like all primitive peoples in the early stages of their ethical and spiritual history, they had first to pass under the yoke of the Law before they were prepared for the spirit and larger liberty of the Gospel. In

Digitized by Google

this work of transition from the old to the new order, Saint Augustine was the leading spirit. His writings continued to be the basis of all subsequent study of theology throughout the Middle Ages, and the principles of ecclesiastical law and authority which he enunciated, dominated the mind of Western Europe for a thousand years.

It is well to keep in mind this long supremacy of Saint Augustine over the thought of Western Christendom if we are to understand in what sense the monasteries of the Middle Ages became the nurseries of learning, and the part that the Church played in the work of Christian education. From the sixth to the ninth centuries the work of evangelizing the new races, and of winning them to the obedience of the Church went on with unabated zeal and diligence. What the arms of the Roman legions under Valentinian and Maximus could not do the Faith and Discipline of the Church accomplished. But it is safe to say that in the convulsions that followed the barbarian invasions the intellectual energy of the Church was paralyzed.

A parting gleam of the old Greek love of learning issued in the sixth century from the court of Theodoric at Ravenna, which was adorned by the genius of Boëthius, but after this time, for a long period, literature consisted almost entirely of sermons and of the lives of the saints, which were composed in the monasteries. The series of historical events which later led to the political and ecclesiastical separation of the West from the speculative theology and thought of the

Digitized by Google

East, tended still further to arrest the intellectual development of the Latin Church and to deprive men of a knowledge of the language of the New Testament, and thus to cut them off from the original sources of information concerning the faith and order of primitive Christianity. The complete absence of all curiosity about the language and literature of the Greeks is shown by the fact that Greek was suffered to become almost extinct in the monasteries of Western Europe, although there was no time since the foundation of the Church in Rome that the Latins had not some relations with the Greek, or when frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Land had altogether ceased.

That view of God and of the world which regarded all study which does not concern the salvation of the soul as useless and profane, led in time to the abandonment of all secular learning. Even so distinguished a scholar as Alcuin rebuked the too eager curiosity of Charlemagne to pry into the secrets of the natural world, and we are told by his old biographer that he would not allow his pupils to read the "falsehoods" of Virgil, as he termed them, though he had once delighted in the study of that Latin author himself.

This reactionary spirit against the practice and teaching of the early Greek Church represented by such men as Justin Martyr, Clement, and Origen, is best shown in the attitude of Gregory the Great, who, in a letter to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, rebuked him for having taught certain persons pagan litera-

Digitized by Google

ture and thus mingled "the praises of Jupiter with the praises of Christ."

As showing the general disrepute into which the classics had fallen, it was the custom among the monks of some of the monasteries, when they were under the discipline of silence, if they desired the works of Virgil or Horace, to scratch their ears like a dog, to which animal the literature of the ancients was usually compared.

The intellectual services which the monasteries rendered the cause of learning were not so much in the spirit of inquiry and research which they fostered as in the preservation of Christian and pagan writings and in the perpetuation and cultivation of the Latin language. It is an undoubted fact that for a considerable period of time the monasteries of Europe were the only libraries. The monks transcribed the works of classical and Christian antiquity, and were the chief instruments of preserving and keeping alive a knowledge of the classics. But though they rendered incalculable service to the cause of education by the preservation of many ancient manuscripts, yet nothing could better describe their manner of regarding them than the zeal which they sometimes displayed in erasing many of the most valuable parchments, to write them over with their own legends and lives of the saints. In considering the part which the monastic establishments of the Middle Ages played in the evolution of higher education in Europe, it is well also to remember that their founders intended that

Digitized by Google

their disciples should be patterns of the highest Christian life, rather than theologians and teachers. In its first inception, monasticism was primarily an institution for the training and cultivation of the spiritual life. In the beginning the monasteries were founded by laymen, who had little or no theological training. By many of the monks ecclesiastical office was regarded as inconsistent with the highest spiritual life. Pachomius charged his brotherhood to shun ordination as a snare, and it was a common saying in Egypt that "a monk ought to avoid bishops and women," for neither will allow him to rest quietly in his cell or to devote himself to the contemplation of heavenly things. Thus, in the beginning, the usual educational and theological requirements for those who entered the ranks of the secular clergy were not required of those who applied for admission to the monastic orders. And it is probable that this absence of all educational tests exercised a lasting influence upon their subsequent history. They were almost exclusively social and religious communities, in which the life of prayer and contemplation was varied by labors for the good of mankind.

The monks cleared the forests, built roads, reclaimed wastes, cultivated agriculture; they civilized the rude barbarian population by which they were surrounded; their monasteries served as places of refuge from the slayer and the avenger; and they stood between the cruelty and rapacity of the feudal lord and his vassal. During the worst of the wild days which followed the Teutonic conquest they kept alive in the

Digitized by Google

breasts of men a sense of the Divine justice and righteousness. Socially, they were on the side of peace and order; on the side of purity, of liberty for the slave, and protection for the oppressed. In the religious teachings of the clergy—though often confused with error and superstition—the great central verities of the Christian faith were preserved and handed on. This was the inestimable and lasting service which they rendered the cause of Christianity and of civilization in the world. The part which they played in the intellectual progress of mankind was negative rather than positive. They safeguarded the records of classical and Christian literature and preserved many ancient and valuable manuscripts, which later served as the basis for the revival of learning and letters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A good deal of composition proceeded from the monasteries, but it was a composition which in the range of its ideas was exceedingly meagre and limited. But it cannot be claimed by the advocates of mediæval monasticism that it fostered the love of learning, except in a very narrow and restricted sense. To love truth sincerely means to pursue it with unflagging zeal, and to be prepared to follow the light of evidence even to the most unwelcome conclusions. This was not the attitude of mind that was fostered in the monasteries. The blind and unquestioning obedience which was exacted from all who took the "monastic vows," the duty of absolute submission to the teaching and authority of the Church, which rendered all investigation into the original sources of religious belief impious and

Digitized by Google

profane, the crowd of superstitions attributed to direct inspiration of God, which barred the path of knowledge, the charge of heresy which was so readily brought against every bold inquirer, effectually put a check to all original and independent thinking, and placed fetters upon the human mind which made the earnest pursuit of truth impossible. "It is an open question," says Mr. Lecky, "whether the good that monasteries did the cause of learning as the receptacles of literature was not more than counterbalanced by the harm which they did the human mind in divorcing it from all secular learning and by inculcating a spirit of abject credulity, which it is the first duty of the true educator to eradicate." In no sense, therefore, can the monasteries of mediæval Europe be considered as the precursors of the great universities of England and of the Continent. The free and untrammelled spirit with which the modern scholar at any of our great universities pursues his independent investigations, is as different from the habit of mind and the blind unquestioning submission to authority which prevailed in the monasteries, as it is possible to imagine.

We have only to study the career of an independent and inquiring spirit like Roger Bacon—himself a monk—to realize the difference between the intellectual freedom of the modern university and the narrowness and intolerance of mediæval Catholicism. At a time when physical science was neglected and discouraged by the authorities of the Church, this man, with transcendent genius and inflexible determina-

Digitized by Google

tion, applied himself to the study of nature. Fourteen years of his life were spent in prison, and when he died his name was blasted as a magician. Could there be a more striking instance of one who resisted the tendencies of his age and succeeded in spite of his environment?

In invention and original research, which are the distinguishing features of modern education, the monasteries were singularly barren. The invention of gunpowder and of the mariner's compass, which have exerted such lasting influence upon the history of civilization, are in no way to be attributed to the monks of the Middle Ages. The great intellectual movement of the Middle Ages, Scholasticism, which was an attempt to bring the theology of the Church into harmony with reason and philosophy, originated not in the monasteries, but in the schools established in connection with the great cathedrals. The very name "scholasticism" is derived from the episcopal schools of Lyon and Orleans established by Charlemagne and Alcuin in the ninth century. The two great leaders of scholasticism in the Middle Ages, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, received their education not in monastic establishments, but in the universities of Oxford and Naples. Duns Scotus pursued his studies, first at Oxford, then at Paris, while Thomas Aquinas was educated at the University of Naples and later in the Dominican school of Cologne. William of Occam and Roger Bacon received their education at Oxford and Paris. Peter Lombard studied jurisprudence and the liberal arts at the University of

Digitized by Google

Bologna, while Abelard got his training in dialectics and philosophy at the cathedral school of Notre Dame. We look almost in vain for any theologian and scholar of note in the Middle Ages who was solely the product of the monastic system. It was not until education passed from the monasteries to the universities and cathedral schools and a fresh impulse was given intellectual activity by the labors of William of Champeaux and other eminent teachers, that we have anything like the beginnings of modern education. The cathedral schools like that of Notre Dame, the school of Seville under Saint Isidore of Spain in the fifth century, the school of Bologna, which tradition carried back as far as the reign of Theodosius II., in A.D. 433, and the cathedral school of York, were later developed into seminaries of general learning, and are the true historic foundations upon which the great universities of Europe and of England were afterward erected. Indeed, as far as our studies have carried us in this paper, we have not been able to find a single instance in which a great monastery developed later into an institution of higher learning for the teaching of philosophy and the liberal arts. The monastic discipline, while it appealed to spirits of a mystical tendency and offered attractions to the cultivation of the spiritual life, failed to satisfy the mental craving of another class of minds that were exercised in bold speculations which often pass beyond the boundaries of orthodoxy, and which naturally therefore, sought a wider arena and a freer intellect-

Digitized by Google

ual atmosphere, than were to be found in the seclusion of the cloister and the cell.

It deserves to be stated here, however, that the monasteries of Ireland and Scotland, whose missionaries and teachers in the sixth and seventh centuries contributed so much to the evangelization and conversion of heathen and Saxon England, maintained a higher standard of scholarship than their European neighbors, and a knowledge of Greek and of Hellenic culture was cherished among the Irish-Scotch clergy long after it had disappeared from the Continent.

John Scotus, whom tradition says was a Scotchman, was one of the few theologians of his time who knew any Greek; and as showing the greater liberality of their views, it is curious to read of Irish monks proclaiming in Germany, to the great scandal of Boniface, the possible salvability of the heathen at a time when it was the universal belief that all who died outside of the Catholic Church were doomed to universal woe.

The story of Saint Columba, who, when on a visit to his friend and former teacher, Saint Finnian, surreptitiously copied a manuscript belonging to his host, may well serve to illustrate the zeal for learning and the fame for scholarship which distinguished this ancient Church of Ireland. When discovered in his literary theft by Saint Finnian, to whom the manuscript belonged, Saint Columba refused to give up his hard-earned treasure. Not until he had instigated a war between the rival kings of Connaught and Diar-

Digitized by Google

maid, and a council of bishops and abbots had adjudged him guilty, did this zealous Christian scholar bow to their decree, and crossing over to Scotland with twelve companions, founded the great monastery of Iona. This same wonderful Irish Church sent forth in A.D. 614 Saint Gall to Switzerland and Saint Columban as far as the Italian cloisters of Bobbio, and in A.D. 635 Saint Aidan to be the bishop of the Northumbrians. True to the traditions of his Church, we see Saint Aidan choosing as his home the island of Lindisfarne rather than the royal city of Bamborough, and training under his own eye a school of twelve picked boys, who were to be the future teachers and leaders of Christianity in the North of England. But while it is true to say that monasteries like Iona, under Saint Columba, Lindisfarne under Saint Aidan; Bec, in Normandy, under Saint Anselm; Jarrow in the time of Bede, and Glastonbury in the time of Dunstan, became the homes and nurseries of knowledge, yet the pursuit of knowledge and a spirit of inquiry were never of the essence of the monastic life, and a different organization was needed for the promotion of higher education. So, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, grew up the great universities of England, Oxford and Cambridge, as *lay* corporations. No formal foundation can be shown for their origin. They did not owe their beginnings to any acts of popes or kings, but to the spontaneous concourse of lecturers and students.

"The university students of the thirteenth century," says Wakeman, "were an independent, cosmo-

Digitized by Google

politan race, living from hand to mouth, often hungry, always unruly, congregated in squalid inns and lodging-houses, without discipline, and sometimes without religion." It is not surprising that this seething and turbulent concourse of earnest spirits, bent upon the pursuit of knowledge, should have early attracted the attention of the friars. Here was the Church's opportunity, and she was not slow to take advantage of it. "The Dominicans and Franciscans settled in the grimy purlieus of Paris and of Oxford and soon acquired a commanding influence." Just what control they exercised over the religious and academic life of the students is not known, but we infer that it must have been considerable, and that such influence as they wielded would be in the interest of the Roman Church and papal supremacy. If, therefore, Oxford in the thirteenth century was not to become a mere adaptation and copy of the monastic idea, it was necessary that a different system of education should be inaugurated. Accordingly, in A.D. 1264, we find one Walter De Merton, the real founder of the English college system, establishing within the precincts of the university, "a great seminary for the education of the secular clergy." Among the provisions governing the discipline of his college, Merton forbade any of his students ever to take the monastic vow. "He ordained that they should apply themselves to studying liberal arts and philosophy before entering upon a course of theology," thus raising the standard of education among the clergy. No ascetic obligations of any kind were laid upon them. Their sole employment was to

Digitized by Google

be study, and he enjoined them to maintain their independence against the encroachments of the friars and of the papacy. Thus did this wise educator and public-spirited man lay the foundations of liberal education in England, and determine the future constitution which both of the great English universities were destined later to assume. But we must not imagine that the religious orders surrendered the control which they had acquired over the academical studies of the students at Oxford without a struggle. Of their proselytizing activity we have abundant evidence during the century which succeeded the founding of Merton College. The lay and secular element continued to rebel against their encroachments, and in A.D. 1358 we find a number of statutes aimed against the mendicant orders. In A.D. 1365 the Pope entered the lists on behalf of the friars, and the University authorities were forced to repeal the obnoxious statutes. But still the feud continued. One cause of Wickliffe's great popularity at Oxford was due to his unsparing denunciation of the mendicants, and the decline of their influence is to be attributed in no small measure to the movement which he initiated. In asserting the right of private judgment and in exposing the ecclesiastical abuses of his time, Wickliffe was striking at the very roots of mediæval Catholicism, and enunciating principles which bore their legitimate fruit in the Anglican Reformation.

In considering the growth of religious liberty in England it is certainly noteworthy that the man who was among the first to challenge the supremacy of the

Digitized by Google

Pope, and to give to the English nation a translation of the Scriptures, was peculiarly the product of the English college system, from which all members of monastic orders were rigidly excluded. It would be correct, therefore, to say that not only were the monastic orders in no way responsible for the beginnings of higher education in England, but they were the greatest enemies and opponents of progress that the universities had to contend against, and not until Oxford and Cambridge were emancipated from their intermeddling policy have we anything like a true scholastic atmosphere and tradition. The influence which these two great foundations of learning have exercised upon the development of the national life of the English people is a subject too vast for the narrow limits of this paper. They have been the training grounds of the English clergy for six centuries. They have stamped their mark upon the national church and upon the national character. They have been foremost in the work of public education, and from them has emanated almost every great religious and political movement which has shaped the policy and guided the destiny of the British empire. It was from Oxford that William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, founder of the English public school system, got his idea of applying the collegiate system to the training of boys. With the revival of learning in the fifteenth century we find the universities of England the centres of that great humanistic and religious movement which culminated later in the Reformation. Erasmus, writing from Oxford in A.D. 1497, speaks of

Digitized by Google

the rich harvest of classical learning already flourishing in that institution, and declares that "he could well nigh forget Italy in the society of Colet, Lynacre, and Moore." It is not my purpose here to trace the successive changes through which the universities of England have passed from the time when Henry VIII. extorted from the scholars of Oxford an unwilling recognition of his divorce from Katharine of Aragon, through the stormy period of the Civil Wars, down to their present unprecedented efficiency and usefulness. But in this brief historical survey it will suffice to point out that it was from Oxford that the Methodist revival in the eighteenth century took its rise, and later the "Tractarian movement" of A.D. 1835, which has so profoundly influenced the Church's life both in England and this country, and which got its distinctive name, "the Oxford movement," because it originated in Oxford, and received its first impulse from those great scholars like Pusey, Keble, and Newman, who were in attendance upon the University at that time. The most important modification which the universities have undergone in the last thirty years is the abolition of "religious tests," adopted as a Government measure and passed by the House of Lords in A.D. 1871. "This great concession to religious liberty was brought about," says Mr. Broderick in his delightful history of Oxford University, "by a persistent movement chiefly emanating from the universities themselves. Experience has not justified the fears of the opponents of the bill, neither the religious

Digitized by Google

character nor the social peace of the University," he continues, "has been in the slightest degree impaired by the admission of non-conformists to its degrees and endowments."

If all official connection with the Church has been taken away, except as regards the professors of the theological faculty and the obligation laid upon all colleges to attend the daily services of the Church, it cannot be said that the influence of the Church upon the universities has grown less, but rather greater. In ceasing to be clerical and aristocratic they have become national and democratic. Never have the universities been more popular than they are to-day—never have they exerted a wider educational and religious influence or been more deeply and strongly enthroned in the hearts of English-speaking peoples. The lines along which their historical development have been traced are the true lines along which all higher education conducted under the auspices of the Church must advance.

By the removal of theological tests they have not ceased to be less the strongholds of Anglican and Catholic theology. By opening their degrees to non-conformists they have become the great recruiting-stations of the Anglican Communion in England. And if those clergy of the Established Church who are fighting the Education Bill of Mr. Balfour would learn a lesson from the history of universities, they would see that the Church and Christian education have nothing to gain by a sectarian spirit.

Digitized by Google

To abolish religious tests in the universities and to retain them in the public schools is an anachronism for which there is no sufficient justification.

The interests of education and religion must inevitably suffer whenever the profession of the teacher is subjected to a religious test, and the freedom of the chair is curtailed by the holding of theological opinions about which professing Christians differ. This does not mean that religion should not continue to be taught in the public schools, but it should be upon the broad and catholic basis of the Church catechism, and not in the interests of any party or with a view to proselytizing children of non-conformists who are forced to attend the parochial schools of the Established Church.

The history of the Roman Catholic schools of France should afford an instructive warning to the too zealous advocates of Anglican ascendency in the public schools of England. Twenty years ago the Roman Church had virtual control of education in France. The catechism was on a par with arithmetic, and Roman Catholic prayers were recited several times a day. So great was the power of the clergy that the local priest became the real ruler of the local teacher. But sectarian narrowness and theological bigotry perverted the purposes of Christian education and subjected the schools to the ecclesiastical domination of the Roman hierarchy. This was a state of things which could not last. And so, in A.D. 1882, the Chambers, after a long and stormy discussion, voted the secularization of the common schools. Now, "religious instruction,"

Digitized by Google

so-called, is forbidden by law in the public schools of France, and the Roman Church has lost an opportunity for upbuilding the moral life of the nation through its children and for furthering the cause of Christian education in that country which it will never regain, so long as it pursues its present fatuous policy.

If the history of education under the control of the Church teaches us anything, it is that scholarship must be free and untrammelled. Let the Church contend for the Faith once delivered to the Saints. Let her place her great preachers and doctors in the pulpits of her schools and college chapels as in Saint Mary's, Oxford. Let her preserve the tradition and defend to the utmost the distinctive doctrines of the Anglican Communion, but let the spirit of inquiry be unrestricted by religious tests, and the pursuit of truth unbiased by party prejudice or theological prepossessions. Never in the history of the Established Church has the value of the universities to the cause of true religion been so manifest as since the Education Act of A.D.1870, which set them free from the last vestiges of mediæval Catholicism. Whenever Christianity has been attacked in our own time, the chief burden of defence has fallen upon the shoulders of the English Church. When the authenticity and trustworthiness of the early Christian records have been called in question by the extreme advocates of German criticism, the answer to their hasty and ill-considered conclusions has come from the Cambridge and Oxford schools of biblical scholars. Against the humanita-

Digitized by Google

rianism of Strauss and Renan, the agnosticism of Huxley, the pretensions of the Roman hierarchy or the excesses of extremists within the Anglican Communion itself, the scholars of these great Christian universities have been the true defenders of the Church and the safest leaders of the people. The whole history of Anglo-Saxon civilization is the history of the slow development and the gradual emancipation of higher education in England.

And the American Church can never be the Church of the People, until she becomes in this country what the Established Church is in England, the leader of the religious thought and life of the nation. She must produce scholars whose permanent contributions to the cause of learning will command the confidence and admiration of the whole Christian world. She must no longer be forced to borrow her polemics and her text-books of theology from the theological faculties of the English Church.

The American Church produces as earnest and as faithful a body of clergy as are to be found in any Church in Christendom. Among them we have men of distinguished attainments and of marked executive ability. There are many true prophets and pastors among us, but where are our scholars?

It is well known that in England the great Protestant bodies look to the scholars of Cambridge and Oxford for many of their text-books of theology and for their weapons of defence against the infidel and the agnostic. Why should not the American Church render the same service to the religious bodies of this

Digitized by Google

country? We have done much to educate the people of the United States through our Prayer-Book and Church Services, in the principles of liturgical worship and reverent ritual, but as yet we have produced no great centre of learning which can be called national or which represents the American Church. The history of our Church colleges is not pleasant reading. It is a record of impoverished treasuries, of inadequate equipment, of insufficient teaching force, of strife engendered by undue diocesan control in the affairs of the college, of heroism and self-sacrifice from poorly paid professors. Wealthy laymen have given millions to build up Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, and but thousands to the advancement of higher education under the control of the Church. When we seek for an explanation of the general apathy and indifference of the Church in this country to the cause of higher education, which is in such striking contrast to the opposite policy pursued by the Mother Church of England, the reason is not readily forthcoming. No doubt the Church college has had to bear some of the odium which attaches, in the mind of the average American, to the denominational college as such; and while the Church is not in any sense a denomination, yet in this case she has had to suffer for the mistakes of others and for that partisan and sectarian spirit which has so often marred the work of Christian education. Something also may be due to the fact that so many of our Church institutions, especially in their first inception, have been local rather than national, and

Digitized by Google

diocesan rather than the result of the united effort and thought of the whole Church. It is not my purpose to dwell further upon the failure of the Church in this country to build up and endow a great Christian university which should adequately express her catholic spirit. Perhaps the time was not ripe for that highest achievement of Christian civilization and religious faith. Not until we had a united nation as well as a united Church could we have that institution of higher learning which should represent the whole Church and be at once truly catholic and truly national.

We believe the time has come in the history of the American Church when she must apply herself to this great undertaking in a more serious spirit than she has ever done before. It may be that the Church colleges which are to-day working for the cause of Christian education may prove the pioneers and feeders of that larger and greater institution which is to crown their labors, and for which they have done a work of needed preparation.

But I would be blind to the needs of the present and the teachings of the past, did I not seek to impress upon you this lesson of the Christian centuries. The American Church can never be the educator of the people until she has some great centre of education from which to educate. She will never gain the ear of the greatest age for secondary and higher education in the history of mankind, until she leads in the work of education. She can never discharge the high office to which God has called her, as leader and teacher,

Digitized by Google

until she has an institution of national and world-wide reputation from whence to teach and mould the thought of the nation and the Church. She will never be adequately or completely presented before the people of this country until she is presented to them through that which is distinctive of Anglo-Saxon Christianity from the beginning—a university, dominated by the spirit of Christ, true to the great verities of the Christian faith, and welcoming every forward advance of science and of reverent scholarship in every department of human learning.

The Church is fitted, as is no other religious body, by long centuries of training and experience in the work of Christian education, to realize the great ideal of a Christian university. It is peculiarly her mission and her privilege. With her ancient creeds, her historic episcopate, the continuity of her life and doctrine extending back through the ages, she stands amid the successive generations of men like some impregnable Gibraltar; she is strongly and grandly conservative, and yet because the Truth which makes her free is not a barren and crystallized product, but a living and growing life, capable of fresh developments, of new applications, and of ever greater comprehensiveness, she is able to welcome every achievement of modern scholarship, as a contribution to the cause of Christianity and Christian civilization in the world.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE III

The Church as the Champion of the People's Rights

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE III

The Church as the Champion of the People's Rights

TRUE Liberty, or to use that peculiarly Anglo-Saxon phrase, "The rights of the people," has a different signification in Anglo-Saxon thought from what it has in the mind or conception of any other race. It means to the Anglo-Saxon something far more dignified and fundamental and far-reaching and conservative than it does anywhere else. In fact, the conception of the people's rights as it appears to the Anglo-Saxon mind, may almost be taken as a race characteristic; a mental note of differentiation from all the other races, even those most nearly akin.

Elsewhere, this idea, where it has any existence at all, is negative and destructive; it partakes largely of the nature of a protest against something else, and primarily, an effort to destroy or pull down or remove that other thing.

As an illustration of what is meant, we may take the history of the struggle for liberty or popular rights in the development of any race other than the Anglo-Saxon. Any nation of the Latin or Teuton races would equally well serve our purpose. The French, for instance, until almost within a century past, rested under a tyranny rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of the world; certainly without parallel in modern

Digitized by Google

times. Teachers it had of liberty, fraternity and equality, and the rights of the people; preachers of revolt and independence; but they were blind leaders of the blind. They had been caught and dazzled by a name, and had no genuine conception of the meaning of the terms they were using. They were without the historic knowledge or sense of the meaning of the words; and wanting that view-point, the words are all meaningless from the Anglo-Saxon's ground. In other words, the terms were to the French mind a creation, not a growth, and hence they differed absolutely from the Anglo-Saxon meaning.

Consequently, when the views of these leaders and teachers found expression in acts, those acts were destructive, not constructive; revolutionary, not evolutionary; a pulling down of what already existed, instead of a lengthening of cords and a strengthening of stakes; a wiping out of all that existed, instead of a strengthening and widening and broadening. To the French mind, the rights of the people meant destruction of rulers, a break with the past, an uprooting of old principles; a preliminary destruction, before there could be one act of construction.

The whole history of the struggle for French liberty and popular rights, marks an utter inability to conceive of the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the term. In England, for instance, a constitutional monarchy, old palaces occupied by the descendants of historic kings, ancient cathedrals echoing to the sound of historic prayer and praise; the Tower of London, the natural successor of Roman fort and mediæval donjon keep,

Digitized by Google

and fairly modern fortress; Westminster Abbey, hearing the oath of Edward VII. to obey the law and preserve the rights of the people, as it had seen his predecessors assume the crown with no promise, pledge, or limitation; all these are marks and signs of the orderly march and development of the rights of the people, according to the Anglo-Saxon idea. Among the French, on the contrary, the advance of liberty or popular rights is noted by a destroyed monarchy; an entire break with the historic past; a new régime; barricaded streets; a bloody mob; monuments in ruin; cathedrals used for secular purposes, and the smoking remains of the Tuileries. To the French mind, the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the rights of the people; its orderly progress and development; its regard for the rights of the weak as well as the strong; its profound respect for the rights of the minority; its conservative holding to the traditions of the past; its earnest conserving of the good and useful; its steady evolution, without break of continuity—to the French mind, the Anglo-Saxon meaning of the rights of the people, in this broad and profound and conservative and wholesome sense, was absolutely an unknown quantity.

And not only was and is this true of the French race, but it is almost equally true of the Teuton and just as startlingly true of the Latin races in Europe and America; and true also, to a most painful extent, of the Slavs.

In Spain, every effort for popular rights has been marked by violence and destruction and bloodshed; a breaking with the past, a wiping out of the historic;

Digitized by Google

revolution instead of evolution. There has been no clear conception of the meaning of liberty, and hence every promise of liberty has failed of realization. So with the many struggles in war-desolated and down-trodden Italy. A vision of liberty has floated through the dreams of its great men and patriots; a "free Italy" has been the cry of many a country-loving, hungry heart; and more than once the dream has seemed on the verge of realizing itself in splendid fact. But when almost within the grasp it has again faded back into shadowy unrealities and proved but a vain delusion. Somehow, that great, splendid truth, so long known and loved by all of Anglo-Saxon descent, proved beyond their grasp and comprehension. The favored few might see and recognize and love it, but to the great mass its true meaning was unknown.

And so, too, with the painful history of Latin-America: liberty has been their dream ever since the Anglo-Saxon of North America showed them the beauty of the idea and the splendid possibilities of the fact. They have seen with their own eyes, and have knowledge from their own experience, of what this conception of the rights of the people can do. They see how it can give balance and patience and strength and conservatism and persevering progress to a people, and lift them to the very front rank of the nations of the earth. They see what a splendid history it can make, and what mighty deeds it can foster. Further still, it can inspire them with a longing which will not down, for those same things. It can rouse them to break with the past, and throw off

Digitized by Google

old shackles, and break away from old limitations, and to cast out the old tyranny. But, somehow, here all ceases. *So far*, the vision which materializes so easily and naturally in the Anglo-Saxon mind, goes with the Latin-American; but beyond this it fails him. Up to this point, it leads him in aspiration and effort; but when the destructive work is done, the vision fails! Where lies the trouble? Whence comes the inability? Where is the limitation? Is there something peculiar in the mental make-up of the Anglo-Saxon; does he differ from all other races on earth? Or has there been some formative influence, beginning away back in the infancy of the race and working constantly and systematically all along; moulding his views, stamping his nature, shaping his character in its plastic period, that has resulted either in making him mentally and spiritually—for, after all, these matters we are discussing are as much spiritual as mental—making him, I say, mentally and spiritually unlike all other men; or at least teaching him some secret that, so far, at least, has not been discovered by any other man?

Certainly, it seems perfectly evident from all the teaching of history, that he is either unlike even his nearest kin, or at least has learned some secret or been trained into some mental condition unknown to them. Even his kinsman—the Teuton—fails utterly to grasp the Anglo-Saxon conception of the rights of the people. His idea of a "mailed fist," an autocratic ruler, an army that demands and takes the best of the nation for its support; a peasantry who hardly dream of having a right, and would certainly not dare assert

Digitized by Google

that right, unless committed to a revolutionary party and to revolutionary measures; peasant women whose place and position in life is marked by making them yoke-fellows with the brutes—this, the Teuton conception, is absolutely foreign to the Anglo-Saxon's conception of the rights of the people; and his point of view, when he speaks of liberty and the rights of the people, is absolutely incomprehensible to the average Anglo-Saxon mind. His meaning—his conception—of liberty and popular rights is something totally different from that of the Anglo-Saxon.

Hence, if this Anglo-Saxon idea of the rights of the people be in any sense hereditary, it must, at least, have begun after the Anglo-Saxon parted company with his Teuton kinsman, away back in his history.

But granting that there is this distinction between the mental concept of the Anglo-Saxon and all other races, as to the idea of the rights of the people—and to the speaker, all history seems distinctly to bear out this distinction—where did such difference of view originate, and how did it come into existence, and upon what has it been nourished, that it should show such vitality and attain to such vigor?

Is it a natural difference—one inherent in the races? If so, why? And how can such radical racial difference be accounted for in those so near akin and thrown in such close contact in the course of their development? There is nothing in the mere fact of being an Anglo-Saxon, the mere race peculiarity, which can account for this peculiarity of thought; this peculiar point of view as to the meaning of an idea.

Digitized by Google

More than once the suggestion has been made that it is the result of education. In one sense—the very broadest in which the word "education" can be used—this, of course, is true, if it be not an instinct inherent in the race, and which always has been there. In this broad sense, all acquired ideas and concepts are the result of education, for fundamentally, education is the drawing out of all that is in a man or a race, and of all of which they are capable.

But if the suggestion as to education refers to what is commonly and technically included under that term, then there is no sufficient reason for holding this to be the fact.

Education had neither its earliest modern development nor its highest modern success, speaking technically, among the Anglo-Saxons.

The Latin probably responded much more promptly to the modern movement in this respect than did the Anglo-Saxon; and the great educational institutions of comparatively modern days had neither their inception nor early triumphs, in Anglo-Saxon lands and among Anglo-Saxon people. Great thinkers, great intellectual lights and teachers, had graced and adorned other lands and peoples before the Anglo-Saxon began to share in the beauty and glory of the forward movements.

If, away back in the days when the Anglo-Saxon was first emerging from almost barbarism into the beginnings of his own racial civilization, any educated, intelligent citizen of the world had been asked to name the men educationally and intellectually

Digitized by Google

capable of leading men and shaping thought and bettering the world, he would hardly have turned to the Anglo-Saxon race to find one single name for his list. Nay, the citizen of England himself, at that time, would hardly have considered the Anglo-Saxon in the count; and if required to name an inhabitant of England at all, he would have chosen some man—priest, prelate, or noble—of French, Latin, or Teuton blood and lineage, so little was the Anglo-Saxon then considered, in matters of intellectual development. Even our children who are old-fashioned enough to read "Ivanhoe" and kindred romances, recognize the truth of this.

So, I say, education—in the ordinary and technical sense of the word—cannot account for this seeming race-peculiarity. There must be some influence closely touching the life of the Anglo-Saxon; always accompanying and bearing upon his development; touching him in the closest intimacies of life and thought; influencing him unconsciously and unceasingly every year and day of his history; as unceasing as the tides and as all-pervading as the air he breathes, and almost as powerful as the laws of life; that has been shaping and moulding his mental and spiritual nature for centuries, that has thus given him a different point of view from all other races with regard to this idea. And then, too, this influence must of necessity have been one that was peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon; shared by no other race. Else how would it have given him this peculiar concept? Is there any influence thus peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon; something

Digitized by Google

that has belonged to *his* history alone, and in a sense which has been shared by no other race? I think there is. And I think that this influence is so plain and self-evident that it can be read on every page of his history, and seen in all his mental structure, and found in evidence in all the splendid world's work that he has done. It is this silent, powerful, splendid influence that has made the Anglo-Saxon the world-pioneer, the world-missionary, the world-subduer, the world-enlightener, the man who is bringing freedom and the sense of human brotherhood to the whole world; the man who can bring the only freedom worth having and that will endure; the freedom based on respect for fellow-man as the child of the same God, and as a brother in the best and noblest possible sense.

And this influence, I think, is the Anglican Church.

The Church of England, just as far as we can trace its course, stands in a relation to the people of England peculiar to itself; entirely different in its position and relation from that of any other nation.

From the very first, it seemed to be a part of the people; as essential a part of their lives as it is possible to conceive. When and how it came to be, no man knows to this day. Whence came the hierarchy, following on the mission of Augustine, we all know. But whence came that church that the earliest writers found there in purity and vigor, no man can tell. There it *was* in the earliest history of the race; there it *is*, and there it always has been; the peculiar possession of the people; loved and sustained by the people; teaching and moulding and leading the people;

Digitized by Google

loyally believed in by the people; the most splendid instance of a people's church ever known in the history of the world. More than once, its open and avowed enemies—from both extremes—have been in power and have determined to wipe it out of existence, and have tried their very utmost to carry their purpose into effect; but always the people—whose friend and champion she has always been—friend and champion against either wild and reckless democracy, or tyrannous monarchy, or narrow aristocracy—have asserted their love for and loyalty to her, and restored her to her proud position of spiritual teacher and leader of the nation.

The reason for this mighty hold on the popular heart is not far to seek. To say that the Anglican Church may have been guilty of mistakes or errors, is simply to say that those who have done her work have been human—making no claim to even a hazy, indefinable "Ex Cathedra" infallibility, whatever that may be. But for any or all of these things, the relation of the Anglican Church to the Anglo-Saxon race has been one peculiar to itself; differing entirely from the relation between any other race or nation and church.

Elsewhere—for instance, in Italy, France, Spain, or Germany in the not so very distant past—the Church belonged essentially to a class—king, prince, bishop, cardinal, abbot, all belonged by blood and lineage to the same race or family. One brother ruled in the halls of state; one bore the insignia of command on the field of battle; one wore the red or purple of the

Digitized by Google

Church's highest dignity, nay, might aspire to wear the triple crown itself, and, if he were sufficiently powerful and prideful and masterful, he might even succeed to the splendid humility of sitting in the seat of the lowly fisherman of Galilee.

The prince of the church boasted as long a pedigree and as high a lineage and as noble an ancestry as the prince of the state; and the leader of the church's hosts was of the same stock and held the same views and shared the same purposes as he who led the hosts of the state. The Church militant was indeed a militant church in a very natural and real way, and the term needed no explaining under those circumstances —unless the spirit moved some lowly churchman to explain that militant did not mean just what the church's "Prince-Bishops" seemed to make it mean.

As a result of these conditions, it was simply impossible that the church should have any great hold on the common people. Its leaders belonged to the classes who neither knew of nor cared for the common people. They were of noble blood themselves, and naturally their sympathies and views and feelings went with their own class and kin. Hence, when there was revolution or uprising or effort for popular freedom, church and rulers were joined together. In the Gallic mind, bishop and Bourbon, religion and monarchy, were bound together; and if one must perish, the other must perish with it.

So, too—in the mind of the Italian lover of liberty and seeker of the rights of the people—the castle of Saint Angelo might mean a bulwark of the church and

Digitized by Google

a metaphorical tower of the spiritual Sion; but it also meant a very material obstruction to a united and free Italy, and an outward and visible sign of the alliance between spiritual and material things—the joining together, in the bonds of sympathy, of the church and the secular opponents of the rights of the people.

In England, the case was absolutely and entirely different. For a while, after the Norman Conquest, this Continental idea was imported into England, but it quickly passed away. The old spirit of the land passed back into the Church again, and she stood, as always, aligned and sympathizing with the people. Her leaders were rarely men of the aristocracy, the kin of princes and kings, the poor relations of the great nobles. Strong leaders she had; men who feared neither king nor commonalty; neither papacy nor baronage; but oftener than otherwise they were men whose name and fame were unknown to college of heraldry or students of pedigree. They were men of the people, with good, clean Anglo-Saxon blood, hard Anglo-Saxon sense, and dauntless Anglo-Saxon courage; filled with powerful convictions and ready to stand by those convictions to the end, even though a coward king should tempt his time-serving courtiers to bloody deeds for his craven relief.

The great settlements of these churchmen became the centres of social life and of trade and of intelligence for the common people. Here, the Anglo-Saxon, scorned by Norman noble and foreign courtier, found the strong rallying point, around which, sooner or later, all his best interests centred. Here, he found

Digitized by Google

a market for what he had to sell, and here he received what he could get from neither king nor noble—an honest price for what he had to barter. Here, he found occupation, and pay for his work. Here, he could find help for his distressed, medical treatment and care for his sick, and succor in his worst needs. From these places came what teaching and instruction he ever received; and naturally, to these places he turned, whenever he needed aid or assistance of any kind. In connection with these settlements he came in contact with higher thought and nobler types and forms of life than he ever had known before. They were the sources from whence he derived all his higher and better aspirations, and ideals of a nobler form of existence. Here he saw what could be made of life, and how it could be bettered, and in what way improvement could come.

Royalty and nobility and all the courtier life were far removed from him, not only by the bar of means or education and such material matters, but by the far stronger bar of race difference and race antipathy. In the court and in the camp he found the pride and insolence and contempt and tyranny of Norman-French; an alien race that knew nothing of him and cared nothing for him, except what he was worth as a beast of burden; and thought nothing of him but insolent contempt.

But in very many of the great religious settlements all was different. Here, he often found men of his own blood and race; men akin to him not only by the ties of a common descent, but by the much stronger

Digitized by Google

ties of a common inheritance, a common experience, common hardships and troubles, a common sympathy in feeling against a common oppressor. Hence, in these settlements, the Anglo-Saxon, first looking up toward the light of better things, found first his sympathizers, and then his helpers, and finally his leaders. These men knew who he was, and what his capabilities were, and what were his aspirations; and they were ready with their aid and guidance.

Hence, because of the historic and racial differences, when the great struggle for liberty came, the Gaul looked on church and nobility and monarchy as his common enemies; and dazed and confused and maddened by his age-long sufferings, he struck indiscriminately at them all, and struck to kill. With king and crown went not only prince and nobleman, but cardinal and bishop and priest, and all the outward and visible sign of church power. Not only bishop and cardinal, but abbot and curé, had too often been associated in his mind with those who made common cause against him, for him to make any distinctions between them. So far as he knew, the church had collected its tithes as mercilessly and by as ruthless means as had king or courtier collected their taxes and rents. It had never taken his side, or taught him and his children, or lightened his burden, or brightened his path in life. So he not only owed it no debt of gratitude, but he had no slightest kindly feeling for it. Not once, in all his long history, had he or his forebears ever known it to stand against royal aggres-

Digitized by Google

sion or priestly oppression, for him and his sacred rights.

But with the Anglo-Saxon the case was entirely different. The Church, for a time, might be allied with king against baronage and people, but this alliance was always temporary; and the time would equally come when it was allied with baronage and common people against the king. And yet again, it would stand for the rights of the people, as against both king and baronage. In a word, it belonged to no class or condition, but was an independent factor in the nation; and though often contaminated by evil companionships, and sometimes controlled by evil men, oftenest of all stood for right and truth and righteousness; the people's friend and counsellor; the conserver of the rights of all, as against the claims of any class or party.

Because of this historic attitude of the Church, because she has been the Church of the race, the Anglo-Saxon, in all his upheavals and efforts for freedom and progress, has respected and loved and conserved that Church. To-day she is one of the strong, historic links which binds him to his mighty past; and to-day, no matter from what land the world-wanderer hails, and by what sectarian name he calls himself, he cannot stand unmoved beneath the roof of ancient abbey or massive cathedral or historic church; for though he may claim no present part in her, he knows that her glorious past belongs equally to him, as to every man in whose veins flows Anglo-Saxon

Digitized by Google

blood. She is his mother-church in a sense unknown to the man of any other race. There may have been periods in her history when she seemed to lose her high aim, and to become, temporarily, a party to his oppression; but he remembers the bishops haled to the Tower for withstanding a reckless tyrant; bishops and mighty leaders testifying at the stake for the religious and civil rights of the nation; noble and godly men stricken down for fearlessly defying king and nobility; nay, he remembers most of all, and most glorious of all, that Magna Charta itself was drawn by the hand of the Church's chosen leader, and that the most splendid heritage of all the race was the work of a churchman who dared to stand with the people and for the people, when none else but churchmen considered the people worth standing with or for.

This Magna Charta, then, and this man Stephen Langton, who drew it, and whose name stands first on this splendid roll of signers, are fair examples of all that your speaker has been saying, and fair illustrations of the truths he has been trying to make clear. How comes it that the Anglo-Saxon race alone, of all the races of the world, has a Magna Charta, or anything answering to that great monument of historic popular rights? How comes it that away back in their past, this race alone conceived this splendid instrument; so great that at thirty-eight separate times since, it has been re-enacted as the basis of all constitutional Anglo-Saxon rights?

Where lay the point, and what was the fact in the history of this race that gave them this great conserver

Digitized by Google

of popular rights, unknown to any other race, and which has been the pattern from which all other races have more or less copied?

The simple difference was that the Anglo-Saxon race had as its guardian and guide and helper, the great Anglican Church; strong enough to be fearless of king and baronage; wise enough to see that only when all rights were respected would *any* rights ultimately be preserved; faithful enough to hold to the fundamentals of her faith through all vicissitudes, and brave enough, in time of stress, to stand four-square for God and fellow-man. This Church, standing always between tyranny and anarchy, extreme power and extreme laxity, between a blind democracy and a tyrannous aristocracy, has been the balance-wheel of the race in its development; the motive power, when progress was needed; the brake, when there was need for conservatism. Had the struggle, in the thirteenth century, been merely between king and baronage, it would simply have added one more to the long list of such bloody and useless and resultless and futile struggles that stain and disfigure the pages of history. A triumph for the king would have meant stronger shackles and a sterner tyranny, and a longer lease for unlimited monarchy. But under the same circumstances, the triumph of the barons would have meant an equally useless and purposeless victory, so far as the future of the race was concerned. It would simply have been a change in the name and personnel of the tyrant in either case, so far as the people were concerned. Had this struggle for the

Digitized by Google

mastery again had no parties to it, save aristocracy on the one hand and the people on the other, it would simply have been a battle for absolute mastery on the one side or the other, a precursor of the French Revolution—one party to triumph; the other to be destroyed.

But the existence in this century-long struggle of a factor unknown in other countries and among other nations and races, was the very thing which made possible the outcome of the struggle. The presence of the English Church, in the persons of her archbishops and her leaders, was what really made Runnymede classic ground, and constituted it the birthplace and cradle of all modern rights of the people.

The great central figure of Runnymede is not the mighty monarch of a great nation, surrounded by all the panoply of royalty; nor yet the stern and sturdy baronage in all the pomp and circumstance of war; but the fearless churchman, strong in his knowledge and deep-rooted in his loyalty to God and fellow-man; the representative of that splendid Church whose proud mission it was to mete out even-handed justice to high and low, rich and poor, alike; to demand equal homage from the king on his throne, the baron in his moated castle, and the peasant following his plough or tending his flocks.

This was, in the last analysis, the determining factor in this thirteenth-century struggle; this the element that differentiated it from all other struggles in history, and made it progressive, constructive, and evolutionary, instead of reactionary, destructive, and

Digitized by Google

revolutionary. It was the presence of this factor, this splendid conserver of the old, as well as promoter of the new, that caused this struggle to result in Magna Charta and the dawning of the day when the rights of the people was to be one of the most sacred of all things known to the great Anglo-Saxon race. It was the presence of this factor which made Magna Charta a possible conception, and then gave that noble conception a realization in fact.

The Anglo-Saxon thirteenth-century struggle differed from all other struggles for liberty in that it was guided, as the race always has been guided, by a profound influence, impartial, fearless, and fit by its nature and history to mediate between all classes, and see that each not only received justice itself, but rendered like justice to others.

This splendid influence was and is the Anglican Church, which, from its nature, its history, and its faith, was and is and always must be, not the representative of a class, but the guardian and champion of the rights of all.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE IV

The Principle of National Churches

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE IV

The Principle of National Churches

Κυκλώσατε Σιὼν καὶ περιλάβετε αὐτην, διηγήσασθε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις αὐτῆς. Θέσθε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, καὶ καταδιέλεσθε τὰς βάρεις ἀὐτῆς.

"Walk about Sion, and go round about her: and tell the towers thereof. Mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses."—Psalm xlviii. 11.

IT is never quite easy for communities or individuals to be judges in their own cause; and the subject which we are now called upon to consider has a very deep interest for all of our race. Yet, on the other hand, we can hope but little from those studies which are begun in a spirit of indifference, and we may hope that we are willing to receive the truth concerning those things in which we are most deeply interested.

To those who love the land they live in, the people to whom they belong—who are interested in the extension of the Kingdom of God—there can be few subjects of deeper and more abiding interest than the theme which has been brought before our notice in the series of lectures on the "Influence of the English Church on Anglo-Saxon Civilization." Many of the thoughts presented to you, under one or other of the topics brought forward, will doubtless be found applicable to some of the other subjects; but perhaps we

Digitized by Google

may find this no disadvantage, since we may gain something from the presentation of the same thoughts under different aspects.

We have this evening to consider a subject which can hardly be thought inferior in interest and importance to any other in this series—*the Principle of National Churches;* and it may be well for us to consider at once what we mean by this expression.

And here we are at once confronted by an alternative, and required to take a side. On the one hand, we have national churches existing and claiming a right to exist with at least a certain degree of independence; and on the other, we are confronted by a system which claims to be universal and denies every kind or degree of independence to local and national churches.

To some the solution of this problem seems very simple. The Church of Christ is one, they tell us, and in this fact there should be an end to the controversy. Do we not profess our belief in One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church? Did not our Blessed Lord pray that His people might be one, as He and the Father are one? How, then, can it be lawful to break up the unity of the Church by the establishment of communions separated from that unity? How easily are such questions asked! how obvious seems the answer to them! Alas! there are few fallacies so far removed from the truth as those which put on the appearance of obvious and unquestionable truths.

But surely the Scriptures may settle such a question without any reasonable doubt being left. Have you

Digitized by Google

ever thought how many questions the Scripture seems to leave unsettled—giving us the principles on which all settlements must be made, but seldom giving us the rules which we are required to deduce from those principles? Have we here forgotten the teaching of our great Hooker?

Well, but surely we hold that there is one Catholic Church, and that there must be a certain unity between all the portions of the Church which claim to belong to the one Church. Undoubtedly there are Christian and Catholic principles uniting all parts of the Catholic Church, just as there is a certain *Jus Gentium* uniting all civilized countries and nationalities. But just as this law of nations sets forth the common principles of human civilization, but does not interfere with the independence or special legislation of particular countries, so there is a common faith in which the separate national churches find their unity, whilst their right of independence and local legislation is in no way interfered with. So it was from the beginning, and so it should remain under the actual circumstances of the Church.

Let us look back for a moment to the original constitution of the Church under the government of the Apostles of Christ, and ask whether we have departed from the example there given; whether there is anything in the essential character of a national Church which differs from the first types, or from the constitution of the various individual churches in the age nearest to that of the Apostles.

There can be but one answer to this question.

Digitized by Google

There was no central authority claiming supremacy over the other churches; there is no hint of any Christian Communion arrogating to itself a right to guide or control another. A church might refuse to admit another church to its Communion for reasons which prevailed with itself, but it did not dictate to the other church. Take the first difficulty that arose in the Church with regard to the conditions to be imposed upon the Gentiles. We know how this was dealt with at the first Council of the Church, held in Jerusalem, not long after the reception of the Gentiles into the Church. At this council Apostles were present and took part in the debates. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, apparently not an Apostle, but a brother of the Lord Jesus, presided. We know the conclusions at which they arrived—conclusions adopted with great and tender regard for those on whose behalf they were legislating. Here is the decision as announced by the presiding bishop: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: 'that ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.'" Now these ordinances were partly of the nature of moral obligations, partly ritual ordinances; and although they were promulgated by apostolic authority, they were so far from being imposed upon the whole Church that Saint Paul, soon afterward, could speak of some of them as being binding only under certain circumstances, and more especially for the avoiding of anything that might wound the conscience of a weak

Digitized by Google

brother. This first Christian Council at Jerusalem has often been taken as the type of all that were to follow; and although we may not perhaps lay down any such principle as universal, yet the example then given was largely followed.

Let us turn our attention for a moment to the Œcumenical Councils, which were regarded as representing the whole Church. Even in the Church of Rome, until the time of the Vatican Council, it was a lawful opinion to hold either of two views of the relation of the Bishop of Rome to such a Council. Up to that time a doctrine was not held to be binding and enforceable until, after being promulgated by the Council, it was received by the whole Church. *Indeed, it was the consent of the Church that made the Council to be regarded as œcumenical*, and not its being summoned by emperor or pope, or by its having among its members bishops from all parts of the Christian Church.

A very slight reference to the early history of the Councils will make this point clear. The first Council of Constantinople, held in 381, has been received by East and West as œcumenical. On what grounds? Not because it was convoked with this view, nor because of its numerical importance; but because its decrees were accepted by the whole Church. On the other hand, the second Council of Ephesus (A.D. 449) was convoked by the Emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. as an Œcumenical Council; but its proceedings were so violent and shameful that the Church rejected it from a place among its synods,

Digitized by Google

and branded it with the name of *Latrocinium*—the Robber Council. The first Council of Constantinople is accepted as œcumenical because it was received by the Church; the second of Ephesus is refused that rank because the Church rejected it.

And perhaps we may see here something analogous to what is still going on in the Church. We no longer hope for an Œcumenical. There has been none regarded as such since the second of Nicæa (A.D. 787). But the same kind of process goes on. The conscience and the experience of the Church, illuminated and guided by the Divine Spirit, still tries the opinions which claim for themselves the acceptance of the Christian community; and silently the great articles of the Church are established in the convictions of men, and the errors and superstitions which have long struggled for existence fall away. The test of truth is still and always will be the acceptance of the Church. Here is the truth of the maxim to which Dr. Newman paid such regard: "Securus judicat orbis terrarum"—the universal judgment is safe.

To return to the relations between the various dioceses and national churches. These admonished one another, and sometimes refused communion to one another, but not because of any supposed authority that the one had over the other, but because the other was supposed to hold false doctrine or to use unlawful rites. Of the one case the Arian controversy will afford many illustrations. Of the other we have an example in the case of the bishops of the East, whom Bishop Victor of Rome endeavored to have ex-

Digitized by Google

communicated, because they celebrated the Feast of Easter at a different time from the Church of Rome, following, as they alleged, the tradition of Saint John. The fact that Saint Irenæus rebuked the Roman bishop for his intolerance sufficiently shows that no kind of authority was conceded to the latter.

But it is time to pass from these early examples to the history of our own Church, and consider its claim to a national character and a national independence.

No one who has the most superficial acquaintance with the history of the Middle Ages can doubt or forget the immense debt which the English people and the English Church owe to the See of Rome. It is enough to mention the names of Augustine and Theodore, to go no further. But it would be equally absurd and unhistorical to imagine or to concede that the English Church of the first ages was subject to the Roman See.

There was in the state of the Middle Ages much to foster such an idea. The kingdoms and states of Europe had not yet taken form and shape. Moreover, the mind of Europe, and the best mind of Europe, was possessed by the great idea of one State and one Church; one State embracing the political world, over which the Emperor should be supreme, and one Church embracing the spiritual world, over which the Pope should be supreme. It was a magnificent idea, and possessed the heart and the imagination of men like Dante. There were differences of opinion with regard to the relations of the two heads, some holding that the Pope was supreme, and others that the Emperor

Digitized by Google

was, and others that they held a kind of co-ordinate jurisdiction under Christ as the Lord of both.

But the moment it was attempted to give life and energy to the conception, it began to grow evident that it could not be worked. And it was precisely at the moment that the idea was most dominant that its weakness became most manifest and its downfall was preparing. Let us note for a moment the conflict as seen in the English State and Church.

The case of Wilfrid of York in the seventh century is one of the most remarkable and most instructive as proving the independence of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The Roman side in that controversy was one of the strongest. Wilfrid was a man of the highest excellence. His contention, that he ought to have been consulted before his diocese was divided, was not unreasonable; and when he appealed to Rome to see him righted, he might have pleaded the dignity of the Apostolic See and the greatness of the missionary work which it had accomplished in England. But what was the result of his appeal? A Roman Synod, presided over by the Pope, restored Wilfrid to his See; and, armed with this document, he presented himself before the King of Northumbria. With what result? Did this English kingdom or Church bow to the decisions of the Sovereign Pontiff? On the contrary, they sent Wilfrid to prison for having carried his cause to Rome.

The attitude taken by William the Conqueror toward the Papal See was no less striking and instructive. The Roman bishop had a considerable claim

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY

upon the Conqueror. When the great Norman took in hand the invasion of England, he gladly availed himself of the support of the Pope. When, however, the latter made demands which to the King seemed inconsistent with his royal authority, he refused to give way. Customary payments, the arrears of Peter's pence owing to the Pope should be made good; but the homage demanded for his kingdom—and the man who made the demand was Gregory VII., the great Hildebrand—he would in no way concede. "Homage," he said, "I have never willed to pay, nor do I will it now. I have never promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors ever did it to yours." The King further declared that no Pope was to be recognized without the approval of the crown, nor any letters or bulls from Rome promulgated without his consent. No synods were to be held without his license, nor could their decrees be accepted until they had received his confirmation. There was the assertion, in the plainest terms, of the independence of the National Church. The alliance with Rome was at that time recognized as an advantage and a benefit to the local churches; and even we can understand that many advantages accrued to them through this union; but never, except in moments of danger and difficulty, or under the weakest of the kings, was the absolute supremacy of the Roman pontiff recognized.

Never was the claim of the Apostolic See urged with greater force and with more manifest advantage than in the conflict between Pope Innocent III. and King John; and yet in the issue the insufficiency of

Digitized by Google

the papal pretensions was completely demonstrated. We may, indeed, say that no English king ever submitted to such humiliation, or even degradation, as did John in his hour of sore distress; when, forsaken and detested by his people, he threw himself upon the protection of the Roman pontiff, doing homage to him for his kingdom of England and Ireland, and thereby declaring himself to be the vassal of the Pope. Surely, if there was any moment in the history of our people when there could be no sense of national ecclesiastical independence, that moment had now arrived. And yet it was not long before the national spirit of the people asserted itself in defiance of the arrogant pontiff and the pusillanimous king. When Pope Innocent declared the barons who were contending for the great charter to be wicked rebels, and proceeded to release King John from his oath of confirmation, they treated his anathemas with contempt and proceeded to assert their legal rights by arms, with Stephen Langton of Canterbury, the nominee of the Pope himself, at their head.

It is hardly necessary to point out that through these ages, from the time of the Norman conquest to the period of the Reformation, the pretensions of the Roman See were never lowered; whilst on the other hand they were steadily resisted by princes and peoples. Not infrequently, indeed, the popes stood on the side of justice and humanity, and even when they were most imperious and domineering, they were often animated by high and noble motives. But even then, and making all allowance for the advantages re-

Digitized by Google

sulting from alliance with Rome, there was ever the danger of servitude to a foreign power; and the leaders of the people were not unconscious of the danger.

Those who could understand to what heights the pretensions of the Papacy sometimes rose, may see the expression of them in such papal utterances as those contained in the bulls "Clericis Laicos" (A.D. 1296) and "Unam Sanctam" (A.D. 1302) of Boniface VIII.

In the former of these—Clericis Laicos—the clergy were forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to pay without consent of the Holy See, any subsidy or tax on any ecclesiastical property, and the excommunication was extended to the emperors, kings, or princes who should impose such subsidy.

In the latter—the bull Unam Sanctam—the Pope goes so far as to declare, "Igitur ecclesiæ unius et unicæ unum corpus, unum caput, non duo capita quasi monstrum." But such arrogance received an almost immediate check from the civil power; and although Boniface proceeded to excommunicate the king—Philip IV. of France, surnamed the Fair—the estates of the kingdom stood by their sovereign, declared the pontiff a criminal and a heretic, and proceeded to take him prisoner.

The course of affairs in England is well known. Up to the time of the Reformation every aggression on the side of Rome was met by resistance on the part of the nation, until finally the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome was denied, and his primacy became a dead letter.

Digitized by Google

It has sometimes been said that the various acts of Parliament passed in England were acts of conscious rebellion against an authority which they could not refuse to recognize; but this is an evident misrepresentation. Here, as elsewhere, the English Parliament were watching over their national rights and liberties. Here, as elsewhere, they were ready to resist encroachments and to oppose to them the strong barrier of the law.

Prominent among these anti-papal enactments were the statute of *Provisors* (1351) and the statute of *Præmunire* (1353), both passed in the reign of Edward III. and subsequently renewed. Both of these statutes were drawn up for the purpose of putting an end to manifold abuses resulting from papal interference in the government of the Church. The first—the statute of *Provisors*—forbade the sending of the incomes of monasteries out of the kingdom, asserted the rights of patrons, and enacted that, in case of the Pope collating to any office, the appointment should be null, and the king should have the gift for one turn. It was further enacted that if any person should procure provisions from the Pope, they were to be imprisoned until they had paid the fine in satisfaction of the king and the patron whose rights had been invaded. The statute of *Præmunire* was, if possible, of a more important character, striking as it did at the Roman claim to overrule the decisions of the national government. The aim of this law was to prevent vexatious appeals from being carried to Rome, in order to supersede the authority of the king's

Digitized by Google

court and set aside its decisions. The statute therefore enacted that if any English subject should lodge any such plea in courts not within the realm, he should have two months' notice to answer for contempt in the king's court; and if he did not appear, he should be outlawed, his property confiscated, and his person imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

It is quite true that these statutes were not immediately or generally enforced. But they showed conclusively the view taken by Englishmen of their ecclesiastical position and of their relation to the other churches, and they remained on the statute books, ready to bear fruit in the future.

When we turn our attention to the period of the Reformation, we can see at once how the measures then taken find their explanation and their justification in the principles which had been operative throughout the whole history of the Anglican Church, even although they may not always have been consciously held. It is no part of our duty to defend the character or the conduct of King Henry VIII. But it must be clearly understood that the attitude finally taken by him and the country rested, and found its justification, in the principle of the legislation which restrained the authority of the Roman See within the Kingdom of England. There was a question confronting the mind and conscience of Christendom as it had never done before, and this a question which had to be answered. The question was this: "Has the Lord Jesus Christ given to the Bishop of Rome supreme authority over all parts of the Christian

Digitized by Google

Church? Does one who resists the authority of the Roman pontiff endanger his everlasting salvation? Must we say that he who is out of Peter is out of Christ?" This was the question which was being asked in Germany, in France—even in Italy and Spain. This was the question which had to be answered by the English king and people, by the English clergy and laity. It was not quite so easy for many men to answer the question in those days as it is in our own. But it received its answer slowly, firmly, certainly.

On March 31, 1534, the Convocation of Canterbury declared that the Roman bishop has no greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop; and the same doctrine has been held ever since by the descendants of the men by whom it was then promulgated. True, there was a brief interval of five years when the English people seemed to return to the Roman obedience and to renounce the idea of national independence; but, even in this short period, that very Mary Tudor, who sacrificed so much for the Holy See, fell back on the anti-Roman legislation of her forefathers, and warned the papal legate that he was not to set foot on the shores of England, and that, if he did so, *she would bring him, and all who should acknowledge his authority, under the penalties of the statute of Præmunire.*

While we thus maintain the principle of a national Church, and deny that such a position involves the slightest disloyalty to Christ or the Gospel, we have no thought of interfering with the liberties of those

Digitized by Google

who find in the Roman communion a satisfaction which, they say, they could not obtain among ourselves. But, for ourselves, we have no doubt of the lawfulness of our position, and we believe that the blessing of God has rested and does rest and will rest upon the work which we purpose and endeavor to do for Him.

And, further, we are fully assured that our position, as that of a national Church, a church which, while claiming to be truly catholic, yet also represents the spiritual side of the great race to which we belong —we believe that this position is defensible, not only on theoretical grounds, but also and equally on grounds of experience. [At this point we are reminded that we are intruding into ground already occupied by previous speakers in this course; so that our remarks must be restricted.] Yet we believe that, in no spirit of boastfulness, but with hearts full of gratitude to the Giver of all good, we may acknowledge the blessings secured to our people by the English Reformation. The English Reformation has made the modern English people. The Christian Church, as reformed among the English people, has given to the world a type of character without which mankind would have been poorer.

It was said of the worshippers of the heathen deities, that they made gods in their own image; and that, on the other hand, they reflected the characters of the gods whom they worshipped. Something analogous to this has taken place in the types of religion developed among the different nations of the earth;

Digitized by Google

and so it has been with our own people. If we compare the different types of reformation followed by the different nations of Europe, we shall see how the national character of the people was represented in their Church, and how the spirit of the Church reacted upon the character of the people. So it has been in a remarkable degree among ourselves. The sober moderation, the balanced judgment, the freedom from prejudice, the love of liberty—all these qualities which have distinguished our forefathers, have been reproduced in our Church; whilst, in turn, the Church has become our teacher and our guide and the moulder of our character.

Those who have read the "Notes on England" by the late M. Taine—a man who understood our people as few foreigners have ever done—must have been struck by his criticisms of our national religion. We are not altogether admirable in the eyes of the brilliant and accomplished Frenchman; but he declares that the sermons of our parish clergy, although not distinguished by the rhetorical grace of the French orators, are probably more practically useful; and he notes that it is probably from recitation of the Psalms in our public worship that we owe that deep sense of righteousness which is one of our characteristics as a nation. "Thanks be to God for His unspeakable gift." "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name give the glory."

It is in no spirit of vainglory that we contemplate the past or the present, or look forward to the future; but with a deep sense of responsibility and with an

Digitized by Google

earnest prayer that we may not be unworthy of our privileges, or of those who, under God, have procured these privileges for us.

There is a beautiful saying, taken from Euripides (Tr. 695)—*Σπάρτην ἔλαχες, κείνην κόσμει*—better known under its Latin form, "Spartam nactus es, hanc orna"; that is, "You have got Sparta; adorn it." May we not apply these words to ourselves? We are members of the great Anglican Communion. It came to us by no merit or act of our own. Let us see that we hand it on unimpaired, strengthened, adorned, to the generations that shall come after us.

This is the work which is now assigned to us by the providence of God. It is not by mere words, however fitting and excellent, that the work is to be done—not by language of self-congratulation, or even of sincere thanksgiving for the blessings of the past that the future of our Church and our people is to be made secure. It is by the actual working out of the principles of truth and righteousness and consecration to worthy ideals in thought and word and deed. It is by calm, persistent devotion to duty, the fulfilment of duty to God and to man; by loyalty to our Father in Heaven and our brethren upon earth. For this we must labor; for this we must pray; nor shall we labor and pray in vain. "Then shall the earth bring forth her increase; and God, even our own God, shall give us His blessing."

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE V

The Church and the Spirit of Liberty

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LECTURE V

The Church and the Spirit of Liberty

CHARTER AND INSTRUCTIONS OF JAMES I.—FIRST COLONIAL ASSEMBLY AT JAMESTOWN, 1619—VESTRIES, AND THEIR INFLUENCE IN FAVOR OF SELF-GOVERNMENT—PATRICK HENRY AND SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH, RICHMOND—THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AS AIDED BY MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CONSTRUCTIVE PERIOD.

WE cannot say that the Church of England, as such, was the leader in the colonizing enterprises of the last part of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Religious motives and ecclesiastical relations undoubtedly added to the momentum, but it can scarcely be held that they set the wheels in motion.

The primary motive is to be found, I think, in the natural impulse to better one's condition, and in the love of adventure. The long fight for existence which England and the Netherlands had waged during more than two generations was ended by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The western lands, toward which for a hundred years had been turned the longing eyes of those in the Old World who panted for a wider and a freer air, were now clear of the domination of the Spaniard, and at the same time the bold spirits who had followed Drake and Hawkins and the other sea-fighters of England were discharged from their long service against Spain and ready to

Digitized by Google

take up other adventures. The treaty of peace being concluded in 1605 between England and Spain, "the then only enemy of our nation and religion," it was determined by many in England to take advantage of "this opportunity" for carrying out Sir Philip Sidney's scheme "to check the dangerous and increasing power of Spain and Rome in the New World by planting English Protestant settlements there, which would increase until they extended from ocean to ocean." Thus speaks an early writer quoted by Alexander Brown in his "First Republic in America."

These first adventurers were, as a matter of course, members of the Church of England, the Puritan secession not having as yet attained to considerable proportions. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were among the early members of the London Company under whose auspices the first successful and enduring attempt at colonization was made. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the charter of the Colony of Virginia granted by James I., on April 10, 1606, declared, as one of the chief motives of the enterprise, "the furtherance of so noble a work" "as the planting of Christianity amongst heathens."

In the instructions of the king, in 1606, it was enjoined that "all persons should kindly treat the savages and heathen people in these parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God."

The latter part of the year 1606 saw the colonists embarked on their three small vessels, the Susan Con-

Digitized by Google

stant, the Goodspeed, and the Discovery. I repeat their names because they are not as well known as they ought to be; certainly not as well as the Mayflower is known. Rev. Robert Hunt accompanied the expedition as chaplain. On May 13, 1607 (old style), they disembarked at Jamestown, having entered the Chesapeake Bay between two and three weeks earlier. Among the earliest records of the new settlement is that of Divine Service by Mr. Hunt, and on June 21, 1607 (the third Sunday after Trinity), the diarist records, "Wee had a Comunyon." This is the first recorded instance of the celebration of that holy feast of love on the soil of Virginia, and ever since then, except during the interval of a few months between the death of Mr. Hunt and the arrival of another clergyman, there has been no intermission in the regular administration of the Lord's Supper according to the use of the Church of England and its successor, the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The infant colony, during all the struggles of its early years, seems to have been well cared for by clergymen. Thus, in 1616, as we learn from John Rolfe's letter to King James, there were at the several settlements 351 souls in all, including four clergymen: William Wickham at Henrico, Alexander Whitaker at Bermuda Hundred, Richard Buck at Jamestown, and William Mays at Kecoughtan, now known as Hampton. That the mission of the Church to the natives was still kept in view by the colonists appears from the following extract from this same letter of Rolfe.

Digitized by Google

"There is no small hope by pietie, clemencie, curtesie and civill demeanor, (by which meanes some are wonne to us alreadie*), to convert and bring to the knowledge and true worship of Jesus Christ thousands of poore, wretched and misbelieving people on whose faces a good christian cannot looke without sorrow, pittie and compassion, seeing they beare the image of our Heavenlie Creator, and we and they come from one and the same mould."

There is no evidence that this feeling on the part of the colonists toward the Indians, expressed by Rolfe in so kindly and Christian a manner, suffered any change until after the cruel and deliberate massacre by the Indians in 1622.

Here, then, we have a colony, promoted and founded by members of the Church of England and regularly ministered to by her clergy, in which Christian principles of justice and fair dealing toward others were held aloft as the standard to which they should conform.

We have next to trace how, in such a colony, the principles of civil and religious liberty were worked out. The third charter, granted in 1612 to the London Company, gave larger powers of government over the colony to the company, and those who were its controlling spirits were men of broad views and earnest interest in their work. Chief among them stand out the names of the Earl of Southampton, the friend of Shakespeare; Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York, and Nicholas Ferrar, afterward

* Rolfe had shortly before this won Pocahontas.

Digitized by Google

founder of the monastic establishment of Little Gidding, who to a piety of an almost ascetic type added extraordinary common sense, profound study and reflection on the problems that lay before the company, with constant devotion and courage in carrying out its designs. The "starving time" was over, and the colony was steadily growing in numbers and strength, when, in 1619, the company, largely at the instance and following the plans of Sir Edwin Sandys, caused writs to be issued for a general assembly of representative burgesses from the little hamlets which were dotted along each side of the James River from its mouth to near the falls, where the city of Richmond now stands. On July 30, 1619, this House of Burgesses met in the commodious and decently appointed church at Jamestown, which had succeeded to the canvas shelter of the first days of the colony and the log building, which the settlers had been careful to raise as soon as Jamestown was made safe against attack.

The Governor and Council sat in the choir, and the Burgesses, with their hats on, according to the usage of Parliament, sat facing them in the nave. In this church building of the Church of England we find in an assembly of her sons the first representative legislative body of our race on this continent, and the prototype, not only in time but in spirit, of those which were to follow in the other colonies. For in 1624 we find the General Assembly enacting "That the governor shall not lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, otherway than by the authority of the general assembly, to be

Digitized by Google

levied and employed as the said assembly shall appoint."

Here, indeed, is the seed which, one hundred and fifty years later, bore fruit in the Revolution. A refusal to submit to taxation by the governor without the consent of the legislature, embodies the principle of a like refusal to taxation by the king. It took time to grow up to the realization that this was so, because the idea of the supremacy of the royal authority had almost a sanctity in the minds of Englishmen of that time. Let us try to trace some of the steps in the educational process.

The Church of England, as was natural in a community which, as we have seen, was composed, almost exclusively, of her children, was the established church of the colony. Following the precedents of the mother country, but fitting them to local needs, a subdivision of the counties into parishes was soon made, and the mass of the parishioners was represented by a small body chosen from their number as a select vestry. These vestries in Virginia, as also in Maryland, after the establishment there of the Church of England in 1692, in addition to their duties in regard to the Church and its property, exercised certain functions of civil government, such as the determination of disputed boundaries, the care of orphans, and the like.

Their duty in regard to the erection of suitable houses of worship was sedulously performed. Like David, they thought shame to dwell in houses of cedar while the ark of God rested under curtains.

Digitized by Google

And so, even before they had provided elegance, or even more than bare comfort in their own dwellings, they raised spacious and enduring buildings to the glory of God. Saint Luke's, Smithfield, built in 1632, the ruins of the third church at Jamestown, built in 1639, and many another colonial church still standing in Virginia and Maryland, attest their pious zeal.

In the evil state into which the clergy in the colonies speedily fell, it became the duty of the vestries to do more than have a care for the outward fabric merely, and to contend for the purity of the Church and the preservation of Christian morality. If the clergy had been under the authority of a bishop, or anyone authorized by him to administer discipline, as had been invariably the case in the former history of the Church, such questions could not have arisen. In the colonies, however, for more than one hundred and seventy-five years from the settlement at Jamestown—if we leave out of account the irregular and secret ministrations of Talbot and Welton of the Nonjuring line—no bishop ever set his foot; the commissaries had no substantial authority; the induction, and often the presentation, to a parish was in the hands of the governor, and the result was that a clergyman, once presented and inducted, was secure in the enjoyment of the emoluments of his parish, although he might be a notorious evil-liver. Examples of devoted, pious, and well-learned clergymen were not lacking, but Bishop Meade and Dr. Hawks have not overstated the painful truth when they assert that a large number of the colonial clergy were

Digitized by Google

unfit to exercise the Christian ministry, while some were steeped in gross vice. The very life of the Church, as a means of godliness, was at stake, and it is creditable to her teaching and her influence that her children rose up to contend against these unworthy pastors. Their form of worship, often carried on in the houses of the pious laity, provided for the hearing of God's word in its completeness, and furnished, as vehicles for their devotion, prayers which had gathered from all the ages the true spirit of reverence, of godly fear, and of aspiration toward righteousness; and thus, in default of the ministrations of a proper or sufficient body of clergy, they were yet built up in God's holy faith.

Along with this went a struggle for the right of the people, through their vestries, to choose their own ministers, and, as many colonial records show, the whole period is full of contests against the clergy, the commissaries, and the governors, on this point. Sometimes these conflicts went beyond wordy wars and formal protests to the authorities in England. Thus Bishop Meade tells us that one, "a man of great physical powers, who ruled his vestry with a rod of terror, wished something done, and convened them for that purpose. It was found that they were unwilling or unable to do it. A quarrel ensued. From words they came to blows, and the minister was victorious. Perhaps it is fair to presume that only a part—perhaps a small part—of the vestry was present. On the following Sabbath the minister justified what he had done, in a sermon from a passage of

Digitized by Google

Nehemiah: 'And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair.' This account," says the Bishop, "I received from two old men of the congregation, of the most unimpeachable veracity, one or both of whom was present at the sermon."

Other cases may be cited from Maryland. On May 4, 1684 (Md. Archives, xvii. 264), Rev. Dr. Wm. Mullett complains to the Lord Proprietor, that Francis Malden, of Calvert County, carpenter, had refused his demand of the key of the church door. He says: "I urged unto him my ordination lycense, and Institution; his answer unto me was, that neither the King or Bishop of London should have to doe in the disposeing or settling a minister in their Church." Malden was apprehended and brought before the Council, when he made submission and entered into bond for good behavior.

The name of the Rev. Bennett Allen has a bad eminence among the colonial clergy of Maryland, and in the recent novel of *Richard Carvel* he is a conspicuous figure. He came to Maryland with instructions from his particular friend, the corrupt Lord Baltimore, who was then regnant, to be well provided for. He prepared long and elaborate arguments to show that the Maryland law against pluralities was invalid, and that he was entitled to hold the livings of two parishes, not adjacent, at the same time. Pending this controversy, he heard of the serious illness of the incumbent of All Saints' Parish, Frederick County, which yielded £800 sterling per

Digitized by Google

annum, and had himself inducted immediately upon the death of the former rector, so as to forestall the action of the parishioners, who wished to divide this enormous parish. This is the account which, in June, 1768, he gives Governor Sharpe of what followed. (Md. Archives. Correspondence of Gov. Sharpe, iii. 501.) "On Saturday I got the Keys went into the Church read Prayers the 39 Articles* & my Induction. On Sunday having heard that the Locks were taken off & the Door bolted within I got up at four oclock & by the Assistance of a Ladder unbolted them getting in at a Window & left them on the Jar. I went at 10 oclock & found all the Doors & Windows open. The Vestry came up to me & spoke to me of Breach of Privilege. I said I am not acquainted with Customs I act by the Letter of the Law. The moment the Gover^{r} signs an Induction, Your Power ceases, I am sorry that any Dissention &c. I saw they drew to the Doors of the Church. I got a little Advantage leap't into the Desk & made my Apology & begun the service. The Congregation was call'd out. I proceeded as if nothing had happened till the Second Lesson. I heard some Commotions from without which gave me a little Alarm & I provided luckily against it or I must have been maim'd if not murder'd. they call'd a number of their Bravest that is to say their largest Men to pull me out of the Desk I let the Captain come within two Paces of me & clapt my Pistol to his Head. What Consternation! they accuse me of swearing by God I wo^{d} shoot him, & I

* This was a requisite in the induction proceedings.

Digitized by Google

believe I did swear, w^{ch} was better than praying just then."

Bishop Meade's summing up of the effects of such quarrels as these is fully justified. He says:

"In the history of the vestries we may fairly trace the origin, not only of that religious liberty which afterward developed itself in Virginia, but also of the early and determined stand taken by the Episcopalians of Virginia in behalf of civil liberty. The vestries, who were the intelligence and moral strength of the land, had been trained up in the defence of their rights against governors and bishops, kings, queens, and cabinets. They had been slowly fighting the battles of the Revolution for a hundred and fifty years. *Taxation and representation* were only other words for *support and election of ministers.* The principle was the same. It is not wonderful, therefore, that we find the same men who took the lead in the councils and armies of the Revolution most active in the recorded proceedings of the vestries."

It is not strange that as a result of these frequent contests there should have been a growing feeling against the right of the clergy to hold office as of Divine right. Probably no one questioned that orders in the Church were of Divine appointment. But that a man who had received such orders should be entitled to leadership in a Christian community, even though his life might be notoriously un-Christian and immoral, was shocking alike to reason and to faith. When people began to question the Divine authority of a vicious clergyman, it was a natural consequence

Digitized by Google

that there should be searchings of heart as to the Divine right of kings, a dogma which, as a rule, was strenuously and frequently urged by the clergy. During the time of the Stuart kings the association of the two dogmas was marked. Lecky, in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," quotes from Bolingbroke a keen criticism of such teaching:

"As kings have found the great effects wrought in government by the empire which priests obtain over the consciences of mankind, so priests have been taught by experience that the best way to preserve their own rank, dignity, wealth, and power, all raised upon a supposed Divine right, is to communicate the same pretension to kings, and, by a fallacy common to both, impose their usurpations on a silly world. This they have done; and in the state as in the Church, these pretensions to a Divine right have been carried highest by those who have had the least pretension to the Divine favor." (*The Idea of a Patriot King.*)

At the time of the Protestant Revolution, in 1688, two English bishops, Hoadly and Warburton, in treatises of great force, led the opposition to the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, and when the Georges came in, the acceptance of the doctrine by the clergy was much diminished. That which was clear to their minds under a Stuart, seemed doubtful under a king of the House of Hanover. In the free air of the colonies it never throve. To the dwellers there, remote from the pomps which expressed the power of kings, and learning by their contests with savage

Digitized by Google

men and wild nature the dignity and force of their own personality; to men who, in the order appointed by their Church for the daily worship of God, constantly heard that His "service is perfect freedom," it may well have seemed that, as Emerson has expressed it:

> "God said, I am tired of kings
> I suffer them no more:
>
> My angel—his name is Freedom—
> Choose him to be your king."

Other methods of dealing with unworthy clergymen being wanting, the people resorted to a method which affected the good and the bad alike—the diminution of their emoluments by altering the tobacco tax levied for their support, either by lowering the amount or debasing the valuation. A series of contests over such laws went on for years, the culmination of them being a law passed by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1758, which, however, within a year or two, was vetoed by the King. Out of this grew the famous "parsons case" in 1763, in which a young Virginian, son of a member of the established Church, and nephew of one of its clergy, sprang into a position of prominence in the colony and throughout America, which he held and increased all through his life. Moses Coit Tyler, in his comparatively recent biography of Patrick Henry, one of the most fascinating biographies of the nineteenth century, has given us an intelligible account of this case, as to which former lives of Henry had made nothing clear, except his

Digitized by Google

marvellous power of swaying the minds of men by the spoken word. It thus appears that the court had decided, as it was bound to do, that the royal veto had nullified the Act of 1758 and that the salaries were payable as under the old law. All that remained was for a jury to fix the amount due, and when Patrick Henry induced the jury to bring in a verdict for one penny, it was on the bold and theretofore undeclared ground that the king had no right to veto a law passed in the interest of the people, and that he, "by disallowing acts of this salutary nature, from being the father of his people, degenerated into a tyrant and forfeits all right to his subjects' obedience." Such talk as this had doubtless been for years whispered in gatherings of two or three bold spirits; this was the first occasion that I know of in any of the colonies, where it was proclaimed in a public place.

I think no one will rise from the perusal of Tyler's "Life of Henry" without feeling convinced that not only was he the greatest orator who ever spoke the English tongue, but that, more than all others, North or South, he was the mainspring of the Revolution. In the session of the House of Burgesses in 1765, the first which he attended, he succeeded in carrying, against the prejudices of a majority of the members, a set of resolutions which clearly declared that no tax could be levied in the colony without the consent of the General Assembly. Similar language had been used in other colonies, by way of protest, before the Stamp Act was passed; these resolutions were epoch-making, because they were adopted after the passage

Digitized by Google

of that Act. After he had gone home the counsels of the timid prevailed, and the last resolution, which contained the pith of the argument, was rescinded. But meanwhile swift couriers had carried north and south the resolutions as first adopted, and they served as a torch to the smouldering fires which had been sleeping in men's bosoms. Thus, in November, 1765, in Frederick County, Maryland, the scene of Rev. Bennett Allen's conflict three years later, the county court declared that the Stamp Act was invalid and directed its clerk to use and accept unstamped paper for legal purposes.

Ten more years of agitation and appeal to England followed, and then, in 1775, at the Revolutionary Assembly which, in defiance of the Governor at Williamsburg, met in Saint John's Church, Richmond, Henry made that great argument for armed resistance and that splendid appeal for liberty which grows upon us the more its thrilling cadences fall upon the ear. No speech that was ever made in any part of the world has produced, in my judgment, such instant, such momentous, and such abiding results.

I have told how the first legislative assembly that ever sounded the note of freedom in America met in the church at Jamestown in 1619. It is a matter of the deepest interest and significance that in another of the sacred buildings of our Church and from the lips of one of her devout members was heard this second cry for liberty, the clarion call which roused the colonies to the point of taking arms against oppression. To some it may savor of irreverence to

Digitized by Google

God's house that it should be used for such purposes. We have, however, from Divine lips the statement that "the Sabbath was made for man," and surely this includes the teaching that the houses as well as the day set apart for God's worship, shall, in case of need, be used for any service to humanity. In the little town of Richmond, where the Revolutionary Assembly of Virginia met, there was no building so suitable for the gathering as the church, and I rejoice that no spot in this land has such close associations with the sacred cause of liberty as has Saint John's, Church Hill.

The pre-eminence of Patrick Henry as the apostle of liberty, as well as his transcendent sagacity and power, have led me to speak of him at some length. He has by some, on imperfect information, been thought of as merely a speech-maker. But the world will judge him hereafter as he was judged by his contemporaries. He was thrice during the Revolution governor of Virginia, and, after the Constitution was adopted, Washington—an unsurpassed judge of character—successively offered him the positions of Envoy to France, Secretary of State, and Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, which his failing health compelled him to decline.

I must speak now of others, like him, members of the Established Church, and many of them vestrymen, who stood for the cause of liberty without faltering. Washington is first of all. But where would the cause of the colonies have been; nay, would the issue have been raised at all without their help? I

Digitized by Google

can only refer to George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, Wythe, Pendleton, Jefferson, and Harrison in Virginia; Rutledge and Pinckney in South Carolina; Chase and Johnson in Maryland; Clymer, Wilson, and Morris in Pennsylvania; Read in Delaware; and others in less conspicuous station who kept the spirit of liberty alive and glowing in their several communities throughout those trying years.

It was George Mason, a fellow-vestryman with Washington at old Pohick Church, who, in the Declaration of Rights prepared by him in 1775 for Virginia, and afterward, in substance, made a part of the organic law of nearly all the States, set forth in a form of sound words the principle of a free church in a free state.

"That Religion, or the Duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by Reason and Conviction, not by Force or Violence; and therefore that all men should enjoy the fullest Toleration in the Exercise of Religion, according to the Dictates of conscience, unpunished and unrestrained by the Magistrate; unless under Colour of Religion, any Man disturb the Peace, the Happiness, or the Safety of Society; and that it is the mutual Duty of all to practice Christian Forbearance, Love and Charity Towards each other."

Following this up, in 1785, Jefferson prepared the Statute of Virginia "of religious freedom," which he directed should be mentioned in his epitaph along with the authorship of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the University of Virginia,

Digitized by Google

as those acts of his life by which he was willing to be judged by posterity. No sentence that he ever wrote is more pregnant with salutary influence than one which I quote from this famous statute:

"That truth is great and will prevail, if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless, by human interposition, disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them."

The war, for some seven years of doubtful issue, at length was brought to a successful close. There followed seven years of adjustment to the new relations; of building up the States whose foundations had been strongly, if hastily, laid at the time of the separation; of striving for a more perfect union. In all this constructive work the sons of our beloved Church bore their part as faithfully as they had done during the stress of war. About two-thirds of the members of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States were members of the Episcopal Church. Some of them I have already named in connection with the Revolution. I may mention in addition, Alexander Hamilton of New York, James Madison of Virginia, Rufus King of Massachusetts, William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey.

It is beyond the limits of this discussion to weigh the work of these men against that of others, of differing forms of religious belief, who, in all the col-

Digitized by Google

onies, through the Revolution and the period of the establishment of the Constitution of the United States, maintained the cause of a well-ordered liberty. It may be that some may question the statement that the influence of the churchmen whom I have named was predominant; I think none can doubt, from the recital of facts which I have given, that they were the leaders, both in the sense of being first to move and in the sense of being in command of the movement.

Along with the work on the Constitution of the United States went work to set the Church upon the proper lines. Many of those who have been mentioned as active in the Revolution and in the making of the Constitution assisted in this, sometimes as members of the gatherings which met for the purpose; oftener, perhaps, by their influence and advice. Now we see engaging in this work the clergy who had been true to the cause of the colonies, such as Provoost in New York, and Smith of Maryland. Chief of them all was a former chaplain of the Continental Congress, William White, who, in my judgment, has no superior as an ecclesiastical statesman in the history of the Church universal. "The Church of England as by law established" had ceased to exist. By many legislative acts of Parliament and of the colonies; by popular usage, particularly in Maryland, it had been known during the colonial period as the Protestant, sometimes as the Protestant Episcopal Church, and every one of the existing clergy, at his ordination, had sworn allegiance to the Protestant

Digitized by Google

succession. Protestant was natural enough as the name of the reconstituted organization. But its organizers had seen the evils of a Church whose clergy had episcopal ordination without episcopal oversight, and they added the word Episcopal in token, as some of the resolutions of the time indicate, that the government of the Church as well as its orders should be episcopal. That they should have done this at a time when bishops were by many thought of rather as members of the British House of Lords than as the chief ministers of the Christian Church, shows commendable frankness, not to say courage.

They had seen the dire results which had come from the connection of the Mother Church with the state; which during the times of the Stuarts had turned the clergy from preaching the comfortable Gospel of Christ to upholding tyranny, and, by their doctrine of non-resistance, crushing the spirit of liberty. They would none of this, and in the States where the influence of the Church was dominant, putting down the proposition, which even Patrick Henry approved, of a State tax for the support of religion, equitably divided among the various denominations, they followed the lead of George Mason, to which I have already referred, and both in the State constitutions and in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibited the establishment of religion or interference with its free exercise. It is interesting to note that the original constitution of Massachusetts provided that the legislature should "authorize and require the several towns, etc., to make suitable pro-

Digitized by Google

vision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality." It was not until 1833 that an amendment was adopted declaring that "no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law." Thus late did the idea of freedom in religion gain a footing in this Puritan stronghold.

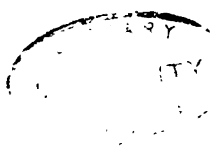
Our fathers had seen the difficulties, indeed the anomalies, of the system of government of the Mother Church, whereby, while the laity were well-nigh entirely shut out from the direction of the Church, even in matters of routine and of temporal concern, and the parson, often presented by some distant patron of the living, was, as a corporation sole, vested with almost unrestricted control, yet, in the last resort, the supreme authority over the Church depended upon laymen; namely, the king and his ministers and the Houses of Parliament; the presence of a certain number of bishops in the House of Lords being neither numerically nor virtually a considerable factor in legislation.

Having this in mind, and guided to a large extent by the considerations which had weighed with the framers of the Constitution of the United States, they established a system of government for the general Church, wherein the bishops, the clergy, and the laity should each be represented in legislation, though the perfect equality of the bishops as a co-ordinate body did not come until the first year of the twentieth cen-

Digitized by Google

tury. In the government of the dioceses and of the parishes the same recognition of the function and rights of the laity obtained, so that their voice is potent in all questions of Church government from the admission of candidates for Holy Orders to the administration of the details of parochial machinery.

As a result we have a system which Bishop Wordsworth, of Saint Andrew's, in his "Outline of the Christian Ministry," declares to be nearer the model of the primitive Church than any now existing in the world. This, our goodly heritage, offers us abundant faculty for entering into "the glorious liberty of the children of God." It is for us to avail ourselves of it in full measure and to extend its privileges as widely as possible to others, remembering with how great a price our fathers obtained this freedom into which we have been born.



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

[redacted]

50 cents on fourth day overdue

One dollar on seventh day overdue.

OCT 24 1947

LD 21–100m-12,'46(A2012s16)4120

Digitized by Google

mrl
Eo mrl

YB 30721



Digitized by Google